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Art. I. *The Kingdom of Christ delineated; in Two Essays, on our Lord's Account of His Person and of the Nature of His Kingdom, and on the Constitution, Powers, and Ministry of a Christian Church as appointed by Himself.* By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo. pp. xvi., 270. London: Fellowes. 1841.

ABP. WHATELY is a writer whom it is always refreshing to meet with, whatever be the subject which employs his pen, and he has written upon many subjects, throwing some fresh light upon all. A master at once of logic and of rhetoric, the clearness of his ideas imparts a forcible simplicity to his style; but what is especially characteristic of his writings, and sheds a moral charm over them, is the rare quality of an inflexible and fearless love of truth. That prime intellectual virtue, if we may so call it, which he has acutely analyzed and earnestly inculcated in his "Essays on the Writings of St. Paul," is not only apparent in the tone and spirit of his writings, but has evidently exerted a powerful influence in the formation of his opinions; since, if not always such as command our entire assent, they uniformly bear the stamp of independent examination, and are not unfrequently opposed to the prejudices and habits of thinking natural to persons in the author's station and circle of intercourse. Nothing, in fact, but the habit which Abp. Whately insists upon as so important, of cultivating "a sincere love of truth for its own sake, and a steady, thorough-going adherence to it in all philosophical, and especially in religious inquiries," could have enabled him to preserve his intellectual integrity, and to walk erect amid the servile devotees of authority, the monkish fanatics, and doting antiquaries of Oxford. Whether his opinions are sound and correct or not, (and we have had occasion to con-

trovert some of those which he has advanced on political, as well as on theological subjects,) it is impossible to question the simplicity of purpose with which they are advanced, or to mistake the marks of perfect veracity.

In this respect, Abp. Whately is, both intellectually and morally, the opposite of Dr. Pusey and his colleagues. Not only are their religious opinions diametrically opposed, but we can detect the causes which have naturally led to this contrariety of sentiment. In the essay "On the Love of Truth," to which we have adverted, the learned Prelate has (whether intentionally or not) traced to their very source the errors which have since developed themselves in the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts. Speaking of the feelings which are apt to pre-occupy the minds of men, so as to influence their judgment on the side either of truth or of error, he mentions first, as one of the most common of those feelings, *an aversion to doubt*—a dislike of having the judgment kept in suspense. "He who would cultivate an habitual devotion to truth, must," it is remarked, "prefer doubt to the reception of falsehood, or to the admission of any conclusion on insufficient evidence." Now Puseyism offers a relief to those who are troubled with doubt, apart from evidence; and it teaches its votaries to prefer falsehood to doubt, provided that the error has the stamp of antiquity. In other individuals, the feeling that biasses the judgment is *the desire of originality*, heightened sometimes into the love of paradox. Such persons "are zealous for truth, provided it be some truth brought to light by themselves." This is always a feature in the character of the heresiarch. "Others, again," continues Dr. Whately, "and they are more numerous, are unduly biassed by an excessive respect for venerated authority; by an undue regard for any belief that is ancient, that is established, that has been maintained by eminent men. . . . And some are so biassed by authority, that they not only admit carelessly as true what they have not examined, but even tolerate a considerable admixture of what they themselves perceive to be untrue. And there are not a few who have more dread of anything that savours of novelty, even when they perceive nothing objectionable in it, than of what is generally received, even when they know it to be unsound." Now what is here pointed out as unfavourable to the attainment of truth, and as opposed to the principle of a genuine love of truth, is actually inculcated by the Puseyite doctors as a virtue. Once more: "The greatest of all the obstacles to the habit of following truth," our Author proceeds to say, "is the tendency to look, in the first instance, to the *expedient*; and this is the sin which most easily besets those who are engaged in the instruction of others; and it besets them the more easily, inasmuch as the consciousness of

falsehood, even if it exist in the outset, will very soon wear away. He who does not begin by preaching what he thoroughly believes, will speedily end by believing what he preaches. His habit of discriminating the true from the false, the well-established from the doubtful, will soon decay for want of assiduous exercise; and, thus inured to the sacrifice of complete sincerity to supposed utility, and accustomed to support true conclusions by *any* premises that offer, he will soon lose, through this faulty practice, even the power of distinguishing what conclusions are true." We do not, for a moment, imagine that Dr. Whately intended this as the portrait of any individual; but he must have had before him many familiar examples of this process of intellectual deterioration in the Oxford doctors. Two of the "Tracts for the Times" explicitly advocate a "reserve in communicating religious knowledge," which he shews to be a proceeding "in direct contradiction to the spirit of the gospel and the example of its Author;" while, in No. 90, the lawfulness of evasion, and the expediency of prevarication, are openly and zealously maintained. Who can wonder at this result of an educational system which exacts at matriculation implicit assent and subscription to Articles which are neither believed nor understood, which enforces conformity to rites that are not reverenced, which substitutes authority for evidence, and makes antiquity a test of truth?

It is always satisfactory to be able to trace errors up to their source. Hooker has finely remarked, that a longing to be saved without knowing the true way of salvation, is the cause of all the superstition in the world. What is superstition? Belief without reason, devotion without faith, religion without truth. We do not question the piety and earnestness of the Puseyite clergy; but their religious views have all the characters of superstition,—namely, credulity, mysticism, and mental error. Mistaking faith for fanaticism, they have embraced fanaticism for faith. That faith which is obedience to God, which consists in an implicit deference to revealed truth, a belief grounded upon divine evidence, is virtually rejected for a faith in human authority, in the church, in tradition, which has neither the sanction of reason nor the attestation of the Holy Spirit; for *this* faith is not of Divine production,—it is perfectly natural, springs up spontaneously in the mind that is a stranger to piety, and has nothing sanctifying in its influence. Such a faith, being a mere sentiment, having its seat in the imagination, rather than in the heart, may strictly be termed fanatical. Fanaticism begins when imagination takes the place of rational conviction, and credulity is mistaken for submission to the evidence of truth.

Such is, if we may be allowed the expression, the natural

history of Puseyism. It has been regarded, but erroneously, as a re-action from the rationalism and sceptical philosophy of the last century. The transition is, indeed, natural, from the idolatry of reason to a blind devotion, from infidelity to superstition, from pyrrhonism to popery. The opposite extremes are but the hot and cold fits of the same moral distemper. Credulity and incredulity are but different kinds of spiritual blindness. But Puseyism has not succeeded to rationalism or scepticism as the character of the age. It has followed, and to a lamentable extent displaced and absorbed, the revival of evangelical teaching and vital religion within the Establishment. Mr. Gladstone admits, that the first step towards the re-invigoration of the ministry of the church, was the preaching of the elementary truths of the gospel by men of the stamp of Toplady and Ber ridge, Romaine and Newton, Scott and Cecil; and he thinks it is clear, that "the preachers associated with the movement of the last century, have infused all that was most truly vital and material in their favourite tenets into the common and pervading tenour of pastoral instruction throughout the country."<sup>\*</sup> In other words, all that is vital and practically excellent in the pervading tenour of pulpit teaching, is derived from the infusion of evangelical truth by those preachers. "Every year that has elapsed since the commencement of the present century," however, Mr. Gladstone remarks, "has seen modifications in the tone of teaching adopted by persons who have still not scrupled to profess themselves to be a school, and to be scholars in the main of those masters." Under "the insensible influence of the spirit of the church," that form of teaching "has joined itself harmoniously, in instances innumerable, to the strongest belief and most determinate assertion of church principles"—consisting in "the doctrines of catholic consent, of grace in the sacraments, of succession in the ministry, of visibility in the church." "The last twenty years, and in particular the last ten, have witnessed a resolute and determined inculcation of church principles by men whose sympathies, with respect to the earlier doctrinal struggle of the preceding generation, were far more with the promoters, than with the opponents of that movement." Of the correctness of this representation, it would be easy to adduce proofs from the writings of such semi-evangelical preachers as Bean and Lloyd; and the process of deterioration is strikingly evinced in the difference between the teaching of Simeon and of Melvill.

We cannot be mistaken, then, in regarding the rise of the Puseyite heresy, or the revival of Popish principles within the

\* "Church Principles," pp. 466—470.

† Ibid. p. 473.

Establishment, as the natural and necessary effect of the system of education pursued at the national universities, combined with the tendency to formalism generated by a State Establishment. Nothing can be more unfavourable to the cultivation of the love of truth, and to the attainment of sound religious knowledge, pure-drawn from the Scriptures of truth, than the servile deference inculcated and required to that which neither commands the assent of the understanding by the force of evidence, nor the obedience of faith by the authority of God. "How can ye believe," said our Lord, "who receive honour one of another?" The honour paid to human authority in matters of religion, under the name of antiquity, tradition, or the church, is a fatal hinderance to the reception of revealed truth on the ground of its intrinsic evidence. Traditional notions have, in every age, led to the deterioration of religion. Partaking of the error, infirmity, and corruption of human nature, they inevitably bring in a lower tone of doctrine and practice. Such is always the effect of "teaching for doctrines" of faith "the commandments of men." But when Catholic tradition is substituted for the rule of faith upon the ground of the ambiguity of Scripture, the attempt to explain *obscurum per obscurius* can have no other effect than to confuse and weaken the moral perceptions by which the true is discriminated from the false, the certain from the doubtful.

In addition, however, to this cause of mental error, the doctrines themselves which constitute what are called church principles, must exert an influence hostile to truth and piety. The doctrine of Catholic consent, substituted, in fact, for divine illumination; that of grace in the sacraments, substituted for sanctification by the truth; of succession in the ministry, for the credentials of apostolic teaching; and of visibility in the church, for the unity of the body of Christ; connected as they are with notions of official authority and sanctity suited to flatter the self-love and inflame the ambition and arrogance of the sacerdotal caste;—such doctrines and principles must generate a corrupting and deteriorating influence. Hitherto, Mr. Gladstone being witness, this influence has been greatly neutralized by its admixture with evangelical teaching; but, when "the spirit of the church," by which that teaching has already become so much changed and modified, that "the teachers of fifty years back, who sympathized with methodism, would hardly be recognised in those of the present day,"\*—shall have worked itself pure from the foreign admixture, then will be seen what the spirit of the church, as a school of doctrine and as an estab-

\* Gladstone, p. 470.

lishment or priestly monopoly, really is,—a spirit utterly at variance with the whole system and genius of the gospel.

The enlightened Prelate whose present volume forms so able, decided, and forcible a protest against the so-called church principles, would of course demur to the representation which identifies those principles with the system and doctrines of the Church of England. He must be aware, however, that, by the vast majority of the clergy, notwithstanding his high reputation as a scholar and a master of reasoning, he is viewed as little short of heterodox. He complains, indeed, in the preface to the present volume, that, although, among the subjects here treated of, are some upon which he has not only reflected much, but has written and published, from time to time, for above twelve years past, yet, those who have maintained, and who still maintain, opposite opinions, have never attempted any refutation of the reasons adduced.

“ For instance, that the introduction into the Christian religion of sacrifices and sacrificing priests is utterly at variance with the whole system of the gospel, and destructive of one of its most important characteristics ; and again, that the implicit deference due to the declarations and precepts of holy Scripture, is due to *nothing else*, and that it is not humble piety, but profane presumption, either to attribute infallibility to the traditions or decision of any uninspired man or body of men ; (whether church, council, fathers, or by whatever other title designated ;) or, still more, to acknowledge in these, *although fallible*, a right to fix absolutely the interpretation of Scripture to be blended therewith, and to supersede all private judgment ;—these are positions which I have put forth, from time to time, for many years past, in various forms of expression, and supported by a variety of arguments, in several different works, some of which have appeared in more than one edition . . . . And these arguments, though it is not for me to say that they are unanswerable, have certainly been hitherto, as far as I know, wholly unanswered even by those who continue to advocate opposite conclusions.

“ All that has been said in reference to the positions above alluded to, (which are among those maintained in the second of these essays,) will equally apply to some of those maintained in the first essay ; for instance, that to attempt the propagation or support of gospel truth by secular force, or by establishing in behalf of Christians, as such, a monopoly of civil rights, is utterly at variance with the true character of Christ's kingdom, and with the teaching and practice of himself and his apostles ; and that to attribute to them any such design, is to impugn their character, not merely as inspired messengers from Heaven, but even as sincere and upright men.”

The reader will learn from this enumeration, the general character of the present volume. That such positions and prin-

ple should find in the Archbishop of Dublin a courageous and uncompromising champion, affords ground for high satisfaction; and could we indulge the hope that the candidates for ordination, and the bishops and clergy of the diocese of Dublin, to whom the volume is dedicated, would be brought to participate in the Author's enlightened views, we should augur better things than we can at present look for, as the fruit of a re-action in a direction opposite to the Oxford Tract movement.

With regard, however, to the learned Prelate's complaint, that his opinions and arguments remain unanswered and unnoticed, it is treatment to which the advocates of these same positions have long been accustomed, and which must be expected at the hands of men who, being pledged to certain opinions, seek only for reasons in support of their peremptory assumptions. The policy of not noticing the arguments of writers on the opposite side, and of abstaining from even any reference to their works, is worthy of a system which abhors the light of evidence, and claims the implicit prostration of the intellect before its authority; but how far such a proceeding is consistent with strict veracity, is another and most important consideration.

The subject of the first essay is one of great interest, and it is placed in a very striking light. Abp. Whately purposes to examine the account which our Lord gave of himself and of his kingdom, in the *two* trials which he underwent, before two distinct tribunals, and on charges totally different. On the one occasion he was found guilty, and on the other, acquitted; and he was ultimately put to death under the one authority, in compliance with the condemnation that had been pronounced by the other. The trial before the Jewish council was for blasphemy, because "He made himself the Son of God;" and the learned Prelate, pursuing a line of argument similar to that employed by Abbadie, in his valuable work upon the Person of Christ, contends that, as our Lord was condemned upon his own confession, knowing in what sense his words were taken, had he not been the Son of God, in such a sense as would involve blasphemy if applied to a mere man, he would have borne false witness against himself, and the sentence of condemnation would have been just. "The whole question of Christ's divine mission, and, consequently, of the truth of Christianity, turns on the claim, which he so plainly appears to have made, to divine honour for himself."

Applying the same rule of interpretation to the circumstances of the second trial, the Archbishop examines our Lord's defence against the charge of treason before Pilate, upon which he was acquitted.

"It is plain," he remarks, "that Pilate understood him to plead *not guilty*, and gave credit to his plea. Pilate, therefore, must have taken the declaration that Christ's 'kingdom is not of this world,' as amounting to a renunciation of all secular coercion, all forcible measures on behalf of his religion. And we cannot, without imputing to our Lord a fraudulent evasion, suppose him to have really meant anything different from the sense which he knew his words conveyed."

Abp. Whately proceeds to notice and refute the ingenious special pleading on the words employed by our Lord, to which the advocates of State authority in matters of religion are driven, in order to extort from them a sense that may suit their purpose. What Christ disclaimed for himself, he must have intended to disclaim for his followers; otherwise the answer would have been a subterfuge.

"It might seem incredible, did we not know it to be the fact, that persons professing a deep reverence for Christ and his apostles, as Heaven-sent messengers, should attribute to them this double dealing; should believe them to have secretly entertained and taught the very views of which their adversaries accused them, and which they uniformly disclaimed;—that the blessed Jesus himself, who rebukes hypocrisy more strongly than perhaps any other sin, should be regarded by his professed followers as having pretended to disavow that which was his real design, and which he imparted to his apostles, teaching *them* in like manner to keep the secret, till they should be strong enough to assert the political supremacy of the gospel, and to extirpate, or hold in subjection as vassals, all professors of false religion."

To the often-iterated question, "Must not Christians, as legislators, or civil magistrates, act on Christian principles?" the Archbishop gives the proper reply:—

"No doubt; but they would cease to act on Christian principles, if they should employ the *coercive power* of civil magistrates in *the cause of Christianity*—if they should not only take a part in civil affairs, but claim, as Christians, or *as members of a particular church*, a *monopoly* of civil rights. It is this, and this only, that tends to make Christ's kingdom a 'kingdom of this world.'"

These just and scriptural views are supported by a reference to the teaching and conduct of the apostles; yet, if the apostle Paul were now on earth, it is remarked, there would be some danger of his being accounted a *latitudinarian*, "for such is the character often attributed to any one who disapproves of the employment of secular force in behalf of the true faith, or of the monopoly by its professors of civil rights." But, so far as principles are concerned, the real latitudinarian, who is indifferent about all religions and careless about religious sincerity, is the

more likely to be intolerant, and the sincerely conscientious, to be tolerant.

The value of these—concessions, we will not call them, as coming from Abp. Whately,—of these noble avowals, will be appreciated when the influential position of the Author is considered, at the head of ecclesiastical rule and authority in Ireland, where opposite maxims of civil government have been carried out to the full extent of the most cruel oppression and the most hideous intolerance. Through good report and evil report, the Archbishop of Dublin has acted upon the principles for which he contends, as far as his opportunities would admit, and has thereby entitled himself to rank, with Bishop Bedell and Robert Boyle, among the best benefactors of the Irish people.

It is not necessary, perhaps, that we should here raise the question, whether the exposition of our Lord's words, given by the learned Prelate, embraces or brings out all that is implied in them. Its truth is so manifest, that we may feel confident they are susceptible of no import *at variance* with the meaning which he ascribes to the declaration; yet, we may be allowed to express a doubt, whether it is correctly interpreted to denote that our Lord claimed only “a *spiritual* dominion over the souls of men”—a “kingdom of the next world,”—and that his “*kingly* office *consists* in bearing witness of the truth.” If, by a spiritual dominion, we understand a dominion extended and administered by means of truth—that is, of holy principles, sanctions drawn from the joys and terrors of the unseen world, spiritual weapons, and the sword of the Spirit,—we may admit the propriety of the language; only, we must not deem the reign of Christ a *figurative* kingdom, or regard it as simply denoting the prevalence of the principles of the gospel. As “the kingdom of darkness” is not merely the reign of heathen ignorance and wickedness, but implies the actual domination of the prince of darkness, the “potentate of death,” and, by usurpation, “prince of this world,” so, “the kingdom of God's dear Son” is not only the internal kingdom of righteousness and peace, which is established in the heart by the spirit of Christ, but also a *personal* reign of Christ, as head over all things to his church, and as the administrator of all power and rule in heaven and on earth. Thus, while it is declared by our Lord, that his kingdom has not a worldly origin, is not *from* this world, and does not admit of being promoted by worldly means or secular weapons, and, not being a political kingdom, cannot possibly come into hostile collision with human polities, it is elsewhere declared, that the kingdoms of this world, which *are* political kingdoms, shall ultimately become, or be merged in, the kingdom of Christ, when his authority, which is now actually supreme, shall be universally recognised. This

must imply, that, although the means and agencies by which the conquest is to be effected, differ essentially from those of earthly dominion, yet, the conquest will be not the less political in its result, while it will be the more demonstrably divine, as working by means of the truth, and rejecting the employment or aid of political or coercive power—the power of the sword.

The dream of a future political and territorial reign of Christ and his saints upon earth is, indeed, at utter variance with just views of his kingdom, which, as being universal, cannot be local, and as excluding the principle of political governments, must also exclude the forms of its administration, whether military, judicial, sacerdotal, or municipal. Whatever political forms or systems may *consist with* the triumph of this kingdom, they can never become *elements* of its administration, but must simply be subservient to it, as they are even now to the moral government of God. The reign of Christ *is* that moral government, visibly recognised and obeyed “on earth as it is in heaven,” which is the true theocracy. The establishment of this heavenly kingdom must involve, however, not only political changes, but a *conquest of principalities and powers* to whom the New Testament ascribes an actual and potent influence on human affairs, notwithstanding that they do not partake of the palpable nature of flesh and blood. The conflict, therefore, is not simply between truth and falsehood, religion and impiety, but also between Divine power and Satanic agencies, both exerted through the medium of human instrumentality, and working by means of opposite principles; and is an actual contest for empire over this world, between the prince of darkness and Him who became man in order to engage in a personal encounter with man’s great enemy.

It is customary to speak of the church as the kingdom of Christ; and just so far as it exhibits the principles of Christianity exerting their proper influence, the church catholic may be said to give visible existence to the kingdom of heaven. But it is evident, that no political institution calling itself a church, can claim to be regarded in this light. A church which, in its constitution, is assimilated to the forms of civil polity, the sanctions of whose authority are political, and which lays claim to territorial proprietorship and jurisdiction, possesses all that characterizes the kingdoms of this world; and, being of the earth earthy, cannot be an institution identified with, or adapted to extend and establish, the reign of Christ.

We have been induced to dwell upon this point, because many prevalent errors appear to us to originate in mistaken or defective views of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, and of the import of the scriptural phrases. While some persons are apt to treat the expression as a mere metaphor, and others would

spiritualize away its reality, the papal theory and the millenarian doctrine alike convert it into a political reign, with this difference, that the Romanists claim for their church a present temporal dominion, while Protestant enthusiasts postpone the secular reign of the saints to a future period, and invest it with the mysterious character of a new and miraculous dispensation. It seems to us equally contrary to our Lord's express declaration, to deny that the kingdom of the power of Christ now exists, and is actually being administered, having this world as the theatre of its progress and eventual triumph; and to suppose the power of Christ, or of his kingdom, to be a political power—that species of power which he disclaimed while on earth, not only for himself, but for his followers, and which is, from its very nature, how necessary soever for the support of human institutions, incapable of promoting the moral subjugation of the world to Christ, or to his truth.

The subject of Abp. Whately's second essay is closely connected with the first. Regarding the church as a spiritual society or system of communities, it is the Author's object to establish the following propositions:—That Christianity was designed to be a social religion, a fellowship, or community;—that, as it belongs to the essence of a community to have officers, rules, and power to admit members, such rights and powers must be essentially inherent in Christian churches, being implied in the very institution, and are, moreover, recognised by our Lord's express directions to his apostles;—that the sense in which those directions were to be understood would be naturally interpreted in accordance with the rights and usages of that religious community in which the disciples had been brought up;—that they must thus have understood the expression, “binding and loosing,” in the sense familiar to the Jews, of enforcing and abrogating rules, and would also refer the “power of the keys” to the office of granting admission into the Christian society, the church being that “kingdom of heaven” to which the commission related;—that the first Christian institutions were probably derived from those of the synagogue, several of the earliest churches being, in fact, *converted synagogues*;—that new directions must, nevertheless, have been from time to time necessary, relative to church government, the Christian ministry, and public worship, which instructions the apostles, we may be certain, did give, but they were supernaturally withheld from recording those circumstantial details, which were not intended to be binding on all churches in every age and country;—that part of what the inspired writers do record (as respecting the appointment of the office of deacons) is recorded incidentally;—that it may clearly be inferred, from a candid survey of the sacred writings, that some things were in-

tended to be absolutely enjoined as universally requisite; others were designedly left to the discretion of the rulers of each church; and some things, again, were absolutely excluded as inconsistent with the character of the gospel religion, and of a Christian community.

To the neglect of this distinction, and to a want of due consideration of the character, offices, and rights of a Christian community, the learned Prelate attributes the opposite errors of those who regard no church ordinances as binding, and of those who seek, in Scripture or Tradition, for a sanction to each church enactment. The class of persons who hold the former error are not very clearly designated; and if, as we suspect, nonconformists are referred to, the learned Prelate cannot be acquainted with their real principles. Admitting that "a church has a right to make regulations not at variance with Scripture principles," the imposing of things indifferent as necessary, (the fertile source of schism,) is clearly at variance with apostolic principles. If every church has such an inherent right, and there are points left to be decided by the discretion of the several churches, then, for any political authority, whether styling itself the church, or availing itself of the power of the civil magistrate, to dictate to the churches of Christ in such matters, must be an invasion of the rights which belong to each separate community. But Abp. Whately would seem, with the natural prejudices of an episcopalian, to identify a church with a *national* community; a fallacy as great and as pernicious, we must contend, as any which his acuteness has led him to expose.

Had the learned writer only carried out a little further the principle upon which he so forcibly insists, that practices and institutions not authorized by Christianity—such as sacrifices, priests, and temples—are to be considered as intentionally excluded and virtually forbidden, being inconsistent with the character of the religion of Christ,—he would have found himself conducted to the conclusion, that those changes in the constitution of Christian churches, which have resulted from their assimilation to political communities, are not less expressly excluded than the papal headship or sovereignty, the authority of general councils, and the sacerdotal corruption of the gospel.

As the enlightened opponent of the so-called "church principles," Abp. Whately, however, appears to great advantage; and we should be glad to think that his character and station would procure for his clear and forcible statements an attention which has in vain been solicited for the truths they embody by writers whose works are in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Anglican church. Next to the pleasure of having new light thrown upon an interesting subject, is that derived from finding truths

that have long been familiar to our minds, recognised and insisted upon by independent and unexpected authorities. Of this description are the Archbishop's positions,—that every separate church had, originally, its superintendent or bishop; that the church is one, in reference, not to any one government, but only to its Divine Head; that no such community ever existed on earth as the Catholic church in the Romish or Puseyite sense; and that no obedience can be due to such fictitious authority; also, that to blend tradition or "church interpretation," whether as a co-ordinate or a subordinate authority, with the inspired rule of faith, comes to the same thing, to all practical purposes, as if tradition were set up independent of Scripture.

"If any man, or body of men, refer us to Scripture, as the sole authoritative standard—meaning, that we are not to be called upon to believe anything as a necessary point of faith, on their word, but only on our own conviction that it is scriptural, then they place our faith on the basis, not of human authority, but of Divine. But, if they call on *us*, as a point of conscience, to receive whatever is proved to *their* satisfaction from Scripture, even though it may appear to us unscriptural, then, instead of releasing us from the usurped authority of man taking the place of God, they are placing on us two burdens instead of one. You require us, we might reply, to believe—first, that whatever you teach is *true*; and, secondly, besides this, to believe also that it is a truth *contained in Scripture*—and we are to take your word for both!"—pp. 158, 159.

Human teaching in religion, remarks our Author, "is highly useful, as long as the instructors refer the people to Scripture, exhorting and assisting them to 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'"

"But when a church, or any of its pastors, ceases to make this payment on demand—if I may so speak—of Scripture proof, and requires implicit faith, on human authority, in human dogmas or interpretations, all *check* is removed to the introduction of any conceivable amount of falsehood and superstition, till human inventions may have overlaid and disfigured gospel truth, and man's usurped authority have gradually superseded Divine; as was the case with the rabbinical Jews, who continued to profess the most devout reverence for the Mosaic Law, even at the time when, we are told, that 'in vain they worshipped God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'”—pp. 165, 166.

In like manner, the suppression of gospel truths, or "the system of reserve" in instructing the great mass of Christians, for which our Oxford traditionists contend, may, it is remarked, amount to a falsification of Christianity. "Very different was

the Apostle Paul's gospel, which, he assures us, 'if it was hid, was hid from them that are lost.'"

Abp. Whately subsequently proceeds to point out the absurdity of thinking to repress schism by what are called "church principles;" for instance, by the fiction of an unbroken succession from the apostles, when "there is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree." The theory of "a sacramental virtue," dependent upon the unbroken chain of ordination, is ridiculed with just severity. "It is no wonder," says the Archbishop, "that the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, deprecate all exercise of the mind in reflection, decry appeals to evidence, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people."

"There is something, to many minds, awfully and mystically sublime in the idea of 'the decisions of the Catholic church,' and of 'catholic councils convened in the name of Christ, and whose deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative,'—in the idea of the 'sacramental character of ordination,' conferred by persons who have derived a mystical virtue from the successive imposition of hands up to the times of the apostles,—and of the 'priestly' character (that of *Hiereus*) thus imparted, and the 'sacrifices' offered at an 'altar,'—of a 'primitive doctrine always to be found somewhere in the Catholic traditions,' &c.; especially when these matters are treated of in solemn and imposing language of that peculiar kind of dazzling mistiness whose effect is to convey at first, to ordinary readers, a striking impression, with an appearance of being perfectly intelligible at the first glance, but to become more obscure and doubtful at the second glance, and more and more so, the more attentively it is studied by a reader of clear understanding; so as to leave him utterly in doubt, at the last, which of several meanings it is meant to convey, or whether any at all. . . .

"And as men are, of course, less likely to exercise a clear and unbiased judgment in respect of any theory which tends especially to exalt their own persons, and invest them with mysterious powers and awful dignity, the *clergy*, accordingly, are under a peculiar temptation to lean too favourably, and with too little of rigorous examination, towards a system which confers the more elevation and grandeur on *them*, in proportion as it detracts from the claims of the entire community."—pp. 210—212.

The essay closes with an impressive admonition not to give credence to pretensions to Divine authority put forth on behalf of uninspired men.

Successors in the apostolic office, Dr. Whately declares, the apostles have none: "As witnesses of the resurrection, as dispensers of miraculous gifts, or inspired oracles of divine revelation, they have no successors." The term "apostolical," he

observes, "is perpetually in the mouths of some who the most completely set at nought the principles which the apostles have laid down for our guidance in the inspired writings; and also virtually nullify these, by blending with them the traditions of uninspired men." Against these and other fallacies, both in the text and in an appendix of notes, the learned Prelate earnestly cautions his readers; but in a tone which indicates his painful conviction, that the very simplicity and truth of his reasonings will be "to some minds no recommendation, but the contrary." The volume must, nevertheless, do good. It is an emphatic protest against the new-fangled Anglicanism and Popish fanaticism of the day, and entitles the Author to the cordial thanks of all the lovers of truth and scriptural piety.

As dissenters, we might rest the justification of our nonconformity upon more than one principle laid down in this volume. Referring to the principles upon which the English Reformers proceeded, the Archbishop says: "If any one is deliberately convinced that those, their fundamental principles, are erroneous, and that they rested the doctrines and institutions of our church on a wrong basis, he deserves credit, at least, for honest consistency, in leaving its communion." This is addressed to the "Apostolicals" or Puseyites,—to those *within* the Establishment, whose duty, as honest men, would be to secede from it. But it applies, *à fortiori*, to nonconformists, who are deeply convinced that the principles upon which the church, as an establishment, is founded, are erroneous, and that the very doctrines which Abp. Whately denounces are countenanced by the formularies of the church. Again; if it be true that "the church, whatever it is, in which each man was originally enrolled as a member, has the first claim to his allegiance, supposing there is nothing in its doctrines or practice which he is convinced is unscriptural or wrong," though "bound, in deference to the higher authority of Christ, to renounce its communion, if he does feel such a conviction,"—if "all separation be either a duty or a sin,"—then those of us who never belonged to the episcopal church, and who have been enrolled members of presbyterian or congregational churches, do right in recognising the claim *they* have to our preference and attachment; nay, we should be schismatics, and commit a sin, by separating ourselves from those churches to join the communion of the established church. We think this is a fair and logical deduction from the Archbishop's premises; and whether or not he will allow us to press this use of his own argument, we wish that all our dissenting readers would seriously consider, whether, if nonconformity be in them a duty, a defection from it may not involve that very sin which has been commonly connected with separation from a secular establishment.

Art. II. 1. *Introductory Discourses delivered in Manchester New College, at the opening of the Session 1840, in the Literary and Scientific Department.*

2. *Introductory Discourses delivered in Manchester New College, at the opening of the Session of 1840, in the Theological Department.*

WE have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to certain changes which have been recently effected in the college in which these discourses were delivered. It is the same, and yet not the same, with the institution known by the name of York College, formerly located in the city of York, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved. That college, as is well-known, was Unitarian, and was originally designed for the education of young men, destined for the ministry in that denomination. "It was thought desirable, however, for many reasons, not to confine it exclusively to this object; but to extend its benefits to those who were likely, in future life, to devote themselves to secular employments." Still there can be no doubt that the teachers, students, and supporters of the institution were almost exclusively Unitarians, if, indeed, we may not use the term without any qualification whatsoever. The college was first founded at Manchester, in the year 1786, and has now therefore come back to its birth-place. It was transferred to York in 1803, and after an interval of thirty seven years, has been brought back to Manchester.

We have said that Manchester New College is the same, and yet not the same, with that of York. It is so far the same that the tutors, students, and funds of the one institution have been transferred to the other. It is *not* the same, inasmuch as several most important changes have been made in its constitution. The course of *general* education has been greatly enlarged; while the literary and scientific department has been entirely separated from that of theology, and thrown open to individuals of all denominations. Further, the theological professors are paid out of an entirely separate fund—no part of the fees paid by the students in the general department being appropriated to their support; and lastly, by recent regulations, it is at the option of the orthodox denominations to exercise an equal influence with the Unitarians even in the "theological department;" there being nothing to prevent the appointment of a theological professor to teach the system of doctrine of any such denomination, provided that such denomination secure his support either by a separate fund, or by

the fees of the students it may consign to his instruction. These are, unquestionably, great improvements; and in consequence of them, Manchester New College can no longer, with propriety or justice, be represented as exclusively Unitarian, but is rather a SCHOOL OF GENERAL EDUCATION, freely thrown open to the public, with this peculiarity,—that it may stand connected with any particular systems of theological education which different denominations of religionists may prefer;—the professors in such departments being supported either by separate endowments or by the fees derived from their classes, and no student in the literary or scientific department being compelled to give any one of them the smallest fraction either of his time or his money. The character of “Manchester New College” is therefore, in its general constitution, closely assimilated to that of University College, London, with this remarkable difference—that whereas on the former, *any* system of theological education may be engrafted, (under the conditions aforesaid,) the latter excludes theology altogether. While the one is exclusively a school of literature and science, the other provides an education as exclusively scientific or literary for those who desire it, but with the understanding that theology may also be taught according to any system of doctrine whatsoever, provided those who teach it are supported by funds entirely distinct from the funds which support the department of general education. Looking at the scientific and literary department *alone*, “Manchester New College” differs not at all in its constitution from University College, London.

These, we again say, are great improvements. A college exclusively Unitarian must of course, according to our views of Christian doctrine, be a great evil, and we must rejoice therefore at any changes by which it ceases to be such. We shall still lament that Unitarianism is taught in any way or to any extent; and with our opinions we cannot do otherwise. But we must say again, that the improvements we have detailed are not only unquestionably great, but seem to have been dictated by a commendable spirit of liberality. Nor is there any reason (now that the exclusive character of the institution has been so completely abandoned) why the religious public, if it so pleases, may not make it a very important instrument of general education. It may be that the bulk of its supporters are at present Unitarians, but that is no reason why they should continue to be so—for any one may subscribe that will, and not one shilling need go, directly or indirectly, to the maintenance or propagation of Unitarian sentiments. In the same manner, though a majority of the present committee may be, for aught we know, Unitarians, the public can impress upon that com-

mittee whatsoever character it will—it being no self-elected body, but created by the votes of the whole body of subscribers. It is for the public, therefore, to decide whether the majority of the committee shall be orthodox or unitarian, for this must inevitably be determined by the general character of the constituents. Of the right of the Unitarians to maintain and propagate their peculiar opinions, there can be no doubt; other parties have an equal right to propagate theirs, and we trust that the rights of all, in this respect, will be ever considered inviolable. But so long as each of these various parties supports its own system of theological education at its own proper cost, and interferes not with the arrangements of the general school, that general school must be considered the property, not of a sect, but of the public, and may be supported by the public generally, like any other useful institution with which peculiarities of religious sentiment have nothing to do, and with the management of which such peculiarities are never allowed to interfere. In order, however, to insure such an institution a sufficiently broad basis of support, to give the public sufficient confidence in it, and to secure it against the predominant influence of any one party, it is necessary that its officers, committee, and subscribers, should not be confined to any one sect. Indeed, unless it be clearly seen that it is *not* under the influence of the Unitarian party, the public confidence will not be given to it, and by consequence, that extensive support will not be granted to it, which its change of constitution is designed to conciliate, and without which, indeed, the change will have been made in vain. That there seems at present no disposition to recede from the liberal declarations implied in the recent changes themselves, we may infer from the fact that three out of the five professors in the general department are orthodox. But it will be no more than fair to suffer the committee to make their own statement of the plan on which it is designed that the college shall be conducted. In the preface to the first of the little volumes, the titles of which are given at the head of this article, the committee thus explain their views:

“ The theological department of the college is entirely separated from the literary and scientific. It was the condition of its establishment that no test of religious belief should be exacted from the students; and this condition has been observed, not only in letter, but in spirit, in all its regulations. As the students do not live within the college buildings, the religious exercises and instruction of those who are not preparing for the ministry will rest entirely with their own friends, or those to whom they delegate the office. The theological professors will open their classes to any who may desire instruction in Biblical criticism, in the evidences of natural and revealed religion, in

oriental languages, or in ecclesiastical history ; but such attendance will be entirely voluntary. Should the case hereafter occur that any parties who support the college are desirous of the appointment of another theological teacher, who shall expound their own views to students of their denomination, there is nothing in its constitution to hinder the committee from acquiescing in such appointments, provided that adequate funds are furnished, and that attendance on the lectures is not made compulsory. It is also one of the regulations of the college, that no part of the remuneration of the theological professors shall be drawn from the fees paid by students who do not attend their lectures. In the case of students who may come from a distance to reside in Manchester, while prosecuting their studies at the college, the committee offer their services in pointing out suitable places for lodging and boarding. A plan has been adopted, by means of which their habits, in regard to the disposal of their time, may become known to the professors ; and reports will be made at stated intervals to the friends of those who are under the discipline of the college, including, besides this point, their regularity of attendance on lectures, and proficiency in their studies. Having thus made known their course of study, and plan of discipline, the committee of Manchester New College earnestly call on the public for their support. They appeal not exclusively to any one denomination or party, but to all the friends of academical education, conducted upon the comprehensive principles which they have assumed as their basis. The removal to Manchester, and the increase of the number of professors, has rendered necessary a great additional expenditure ; and the enlargement of the plan of study makes it expedient to provide a philosophical and chemical apparatus, far exceeding in extent and costliness what the college previously possessed. The increase of the library, especially in the scientific department, although not equally urgent, is highly desirable. The experiment which the committee are making cannot therefore be fully and fairly made, or continued for such a length of time as will afford an accurate test of its prospect of success, without liberal support, in the form of new subscriptions and benefactions. These will be appropriated exclusively to the literary and scientific department in all cases in which the subscribers and donors express such a wish."

The professors in the literary and scientific department are five. The classical chair is occupied by F. W. Newman, Esq., B.A., formerly of Bristol College ; that of mathematics, by R. Finlay, Esq., B.A. ; that of physical science and natural history, by M. L. Phillips, Esq. ; that of mental and moral philosophy, by James Martineau, and that of history, by John Kendrick, M.A. The "introductory lectures" of these gentlemen, form the first of the two publications which stand at the commencement of the present article. It is not our intention to review these lectures, our principal object having been to call the attention of the public to the important modifications effected in the institution in which they were delivered. We may say

of them all, however, that they appear to be very creditable performances, while that of Mr. Newman, partly from the subject, partly from his manner of treating it, will be read with especial interest. We feel much pleasure in extracting the following passage on the claims of Greek and Roman Literature. It is a subject on which we have more than once entered, within the last two or three years, and many of Mr. Newman's arguments must be already familiar to our readers. Still some of the aspects under which he has viewed the subject are both novel and important; and as prejudices are still very general and very strong in many quarters, we shall make no apology for a somewhat lengthened citation. We think Mr. Newman has done excellently well in not *overstating* his argument, or indulging in that fanatical and pedantic admiration of the classics to the depreciation of all other studies, which has done more to provoke a prejudice against them than any other cause whatsoever.

"In manufacturing towns such as this, where men are daily witnesses to the vast importance of modern knowledge; where not merely mechanics, chemistry, and the other physical sciences, but modern history, physical and general geography, political economy, and politics, constantly vindicate their claims to attention, it is not to be wondered at if some are incredulous as to the utility of the ordinary school education. And this incredulity is perhaps increased by the injudicious zeal in favour of their own system often seen on the opposite side, as though no person ignorant of Latin and Greek could be a man of cultivated mind. Is it forgotten that those very ancients of the Greek nation who are set up as our intellectual models were, one and all, unacquainted with any foreign literature? The glory of Greek literature is, that it was entirely of home growth.

"This is no empty boast, but a great secret of its real excellence. The Latin, on the contrary, was in part deteriorated by too close a copying of the Greeks. The historian, Herodotus, must have possessed a conversational acquaintance with various languages; nor could the soldier, Xenophon, have been wholly ignorant of several; but we have no ground to imagine them versed in foreign literature. Moreover, so far were Æschylus and Thucydides from receiving a grammatical education, that the rules of grammar were not yet investigated, until all the most eminent pieces of Greek literature had been produced. But, again, some advocates of classical education are accustomed to lay stress on the cultivation of taste, which, they say, boys acquire from reading Greek and Latin poetry. But there is only too much reason to doubt whether boys at an early age have any perception and relish of the beauties and excellences of the ancient poetry which they read.

"Personal experience leads me to the same conviction, as might be inferred from the nature of the case, that it is long before the majority become intimate enough with the language, feeling, religion, of the ancients, to sympathize with their poetry; longer still before they can appreciate and distinguish its good or bad 'taste'; for it is too much

to lay down the axiom that they are never in bad taste. In short, boys who might relish Thomson, Pope, Gray, Scott—nay, even Milton and Wordsworth, can often find nothing to admire in Virgil and Horace; and if they are interested in Homer, it is for the sake of his battles, and the prowess of his heroes—not for his poetical merits. Other grounds than these seem requisite to defend the received course of classical study.

“Perhaps from these remarks I may seem to have too little enthusiasm in behalf of the studies I am called to superintend. To be a zealous and successful teacher, a certain measure of romance may seem so necessary, as to make it not venial only, but becoming.

“That I do not really underrate the value of ancient literature, I will try to shew before I sit down; but as the practical good sense and experience of many present would detect any exaggerated statements, it is possible that a more enthusiastic lecturer, if more interesting at the moment, might not be ultimately convincing.

“The importance of an acquaintance with antiquity cannot easily be exaggerated, if it be not made exclusive. A man who so lives with Plato or Cicero as to neglect a commensurate study of that which is passing around him, will of course be incapacitated for judging of the modern world, and, at best, becomes a piece of machinery to be used by others. We do not advocate *any* thing exclusive. A one-sided cultivation may appear at first like carrying out the principle of division of labour; yet, in fact, it does not tend to the general benefit and progress of truth, much less to the advantage of the individual. Each of us has a heart and mind valuable for its own sake, and not to be looked on as a mere machine for producing. Now, if we ask wherein the civilized differs from the savage intellect, we find it is mainly in the disposition and power to look backwards and forwards; while in the most degraded barbarism, the mind is fixed solely on the present moment. But the future can only be known from the experience of the past; hence, no thoughtful person can disown the bond which unites us to the men of former days; he must admit the value of history in its largest sense, moral and social, as well as political, the history of literature, and of opinion, of prejudices, and of sentiments. The knowledge of antiquity, by reason of the strong contrasts in which it shews us human nature, is peculiarly valuable; and Latin, Greek, Hebrew, are the three languages which chiefly open to us this knowledge. Particularly important is it for a nation to enlarge its circle of information, when it is called to take an ample share in self-government; else its inexperience will plunge it into a thousand mischievous errors. There *are* sciences, like political economy, which, proceeding from a few very simple principles, admit of being reasoned out in a chain of propositions similar to those of geometry; but such is not the science of politics. The intimate relationship of the political and social state of every nation renders an extensive experience of the past eminently necessary to all sound judgment; and the only question can be, *how far back* we ought to go. Not to dwell on general topics longer than is necessary, it is enough to say, there are special reasons which make the study of Greek history peculiarly instructive, some of which it may be well here to set forth.

"Greece is to us a *microcosm*—a Christendom in miniature; and hereby offers us many advantages in the study of human nature. Most histories progress too slowly, if they progress at all, to be brought within convenient compass for elementary instruction. It demands the devotion of half a life to the history of Europe, complicated as it is, and various, slowly unfolding itself in the lapse of fourteen centuries, before it can be thoroughly understood. Abridgments are highly unsatisfactory and uninteresting, because too little biographical; they talk of Senates, national assemblies, armies, but do not exhibit to us the men who compose them, nor explain the working of the machinery.

"Now, Greece furnishes us with a singularly complete course of history, having striking analogies to that of Europe, but acted in narrower space and time. Her physical geography is remarkably varied, considering how small a corner of Europe she occupies. The Mediterranean is her ocean; the Gulf of Lepanto her Mediterranean; the deep bays with which she is indented give her a sea-coast of great length; and, with the numerous islands at small distances, fostered the spirit of navigation. Her lofty mountains, while they divided her into natural kingdoms, gave her, within a small compass, many climates, and tribes of various characters, as to genius, arts, arms, and government. Indeed, the races which peopled Greece, though talking dialects of one language, and seldom wholly unintelligible to one another, had decided peculiarities, and, doubtless, a primitive diversity of temperament.

"Provision was thus made for variety, as well as for a substantial unity. Greece felt herself to be Greek, by her common language and religion, just as Christendom, ever since the Crusades, has been conscious of union by a common faith. The oracle of Delphi, the Olympic games, were to her what papal Rome was to our ancestors. But the confined limits of space which Greece embraced, allowed her history to run its course in a very short period. From Solon to Alexander the Great is less than two centuries and a half; but it is wonderful how many different scenes were acted, how great a variety of political constitutions rose and fell in this short compass. Dr. Arnold has observed, that Grecian and Roman history, in their later periods, may, in their most important sense, be called "modern," because they depict a state of society far nearer to that of modern Europe than can be found in our own past annals; and, therefore, though all application of their experience must be modified by considering the grand points of distinction between them and us, still there is peculiar instruction to us in their history. It may be said, with considerable truth, that for this it is not requisite to be acquainted with their languages. Happily it is not. The day appears to be fully arrived when an English course of instruction on all these points should be made accessible to those who are not able to give their time to the cultivation of the original tongues. We already see two of our most eminent scholars engaged in composing histories of Greece and Rome; and it is hoped that ere long the learned men of England, as of Germany, will not leave the difficult work of translation to inferior hands; and that we may at length have worthy English representations of the best ancient authors. It would be no honour to the venerable productions of antiquity to imagine that

all their excellences vanish with translation; and only a mean exclusiveness of spirit could grudge to impart as much as possible of their instruction to the unlearned. Still it remains certain that to understand a nation fully we must know their language. It is one great and characteristic difference of *literature* from *science*—that the former loses by translation, the latter does not. The propositions of Euclid or Archimedes, the works of Newton or Laplace, have no national hue; they can be represented with equal fidelity in the tongue of any civilized people. Science is strictly universal; and on that account, is adapted to bring about a certain union between all the nations of the earth: but literature is special, peculiar; it witnesses, and it tends to uphold, national diversity. Its delicate colouring is always injured or lost by translation; its shade of meaning, its graceful allusions, which flash rapidly before the mind of a native reader, become tedious and insipid when expanded enough to become intelligible to the foreigner. But, in fact, we have to confess at this moment, that few at all of the best classical writings have been so translated as to give the English reader any vivid and adequate comprehension of the author's mind; and we are hitherto very far from attaining the state in which the learned and unlearned are on an approach to an equality in this matter."

To the "Introductory Discourses" is appended a syllabus of the course of instruction in each of the classes, as also the regulations relating to the admission and classification of the students.

The Introductory Discourses delivered in the theological department are three; that on "Critical and Exegetical Theology," by the Rev. R. Wallace; that on "Pastoral Theology, and the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Languages," by the Rev. J. G. Robbards; and that on "Ecclesiastical History," by the Rev. J. J. Tayler, B.A. On these we shall content ourselves with making the single remark that the Unitarian element is by no means very prominent in them, that once and again in the lectures of Mr. Wallace, principles of interpretation and modes of instruction are contended for, which, if consistently acted upon, would leave little to be apprehended from Unitarianism; and that the syllabus of lectures seems framed purposely to exclude as far as possible the peculiar matters in dispute between the Unitarians and the orthodox. By far the greater part of the subjects of the lectures are such as is equally interesting and important to all biblical students. It is true that the peculiarities of Unitarian theology may be made prominent enough in various parts of the lectures themselves, but they seem carefully excluded from the syllabus. The principal subjects are, the Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Philology, the History of the Text and of the Canon, (both of the Old and New Testaments) and Ecclesiastical History.

Art. III. *The Natural History and Classification of Birds.* By William Swainson, Esq., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. 8vo. (Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopaedia.") London: Longman and Co.

THAT classification is highly important, must be obvious to every one. Without it, the facts of natural history would form a chaotic mass, the study of which would be interminable. Classification, however, may be carried too far; and, defeating its object by the complexity of its details, may render the science almost as difficult as if arrangement had been entirely dispensed with. It is enough to damp the ardour of the student, to meet him, at the outset of his inquiries, with all the technicalities, countless synomyms, and divisions and subdivisions without number, which modern naturalists have devised. Almost every writer seeks to be the founder of a new system; and, casting down the structure of his predecessor, attempts to build upon its ruins an edifice of his own. Linnaeus, Cuvier, Temminck, Illiger, Fabricius, Latreille, and a host of other authors of lesser note, have attempted to establish their own systems. Then we have "binary," "trinary," "quinary," and "septenary" modes of arrangement, each of which has its zealous promulgators. The best known of these is the "quinary" system, the first principles of which are in the highest degree improbable, if not absurd. Its founder was Mr. MacLeay, and its principal supporter is the author of the volumes before us, whose views we shall briefly lay before our readers.

The fundamental laws of the quinary system are given by Mr. Swainson, in his "Treatise on the Geography and Classification of Animals," pp. 224, 225, where he states, "that every natural series of beings, in its progress from a given point, either actually returns, or evinces a tendency to return again to that point, thereby forming a circle. The primary divisions of every group are three actually, or five apparently. The contents of such a circular group are symbolically (or analogically) represented by the contents of all other circles in the animal kingdom." And, "that these primary divisions of every group are characterized by definite peculiarities of form, structure, and economy; which, under diversified modifications, are uniform throughout the animal kingdom, and are therefore to be regarded as the primary types of nature."

It will be perceived, that Mr. Swainson allows himself considerable latitude; and he has need of it. He speaks of "evincing a tendency" "under diversified modifications," &c.; and, having thus prepared the way, proceeds boldly to the application of his "first principles." Let us examine the results of his labours. In the majority of instances, the "circles" are incomplete; one or more of the "primary divisions" being wanting; but Mr.

Swainson believes that they will be discovered ; and, because the group "evinces" a circular "tendency," regards it as in accordance with his views. One family characterized by the definite peculiarity of form, long legs, is under a "diversified modification," represented by a group with those organs quite the reverse. The dull colour of the wading birds is stated to be analogous to the brilliant plumage of the humming-bird. We were at a loss to conceive how this could, by any possibility, be the case, until we found that "the characteristic of all grallatorial [or wading] birds, and of other groups by which they are represented in ornithology, is to have mineral, or *earthy* colours ; the humming-bird shewing us the *gems*, and the grey and brown of the waders the *surface colour* of the earth !" This is certainly very poetical, though scarcely the kind of argument we should expect to find in the annunciation of grave principles which the author dignifies by styling "the natural system." In one group, we are told that the "rapacious type," the characteristics of which are carnivorous habits and blood-thirsty dispositions, is represented by the genus *sylvicola*, because the birds it contains have a slight notch or tooth on the upper mandible. (*Treatise*, p. 246.) Amongst insects, the rapacious type is "symbolized" by the *sphinx* moths, the caterpillars of which "assume a singular threatening aspect on being disturbed." Mr. Swainson considers this "a remarkable modification of the terrific, or evil nature which is impressed under one form or other upon all subtypical [rapacious] groups." (*Ibid.*, p. 247.) The caterpillars of certain butterflies (belonging to the family *Nymphalidae*) produce a stinging sensation when held in the hand ; and, moreover, when in the chrysalis state, are suspended downwards. This is amply sufficient to induce Mr. Swainson to regard them as "types of evil," and to express his opinion, that the chrysalises are "thus pointing to the world, as the only habitation where their innumerable types of evil are permitted to reside ; or to that dark and bottomless region where punishment awaits the wicked at *their* last great change"!!

All Mr. Swainson's works abound with analogies as fanciful and as slight as those noticed above ; and we had marked for quotation other instances of "symbolical representation," but we forbear, believing that enough has been said to enable our readers to judge of the value of "the natural system." Strange to say, it received the support of several eminent naturalists, who appear to have been attracted by its novelty. Some have already withdrawn their adhesion, and there is reason to believe that ere long the "quinary" theory will fall into merited oblivion. Mr. Swainson himself, curiously enough, passes a sentence of condemnation on his own system ; for in his work on the "Classification of Quadrupeds," at p. 200, speaking of the *edentata*, he says, "A

more convincing proof, indeed, cannot be adduced to shew the *utter impossibility of laying down rules beforehand for natural groups*, or for erecting a system upon any set of characters, when nature everywhere tells us, that her system is one of variation."

We much regret that the volumes in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopaedia," so well calculated in every other respect to advance natural history, should be filled with the illustrations of a system which darkens the page of nature, and disheartens the student with the complexity of its details and the incomprehensibility of its fundamental principles.

The volumes before us, nevertheless, contain much that will repay perusal, and may be recommended as an excellent introduction to the natural history of the feathered tribe. The first volume is mainly devoted to the external anatomy of birds, considered in reference to their habits and economy, of which many interesting illustrations are given. We shall briefly pursue the inquiry.

The head of birds is generally covered with feathers, and, in some species, is ornamented by crests, wattles, &c. The use of ornamental crests is not always very apparent, unless they be considered as merely a mark of distinction given, almost exclusively, to the male. Mr. Swainson suggests, that in some cases these ornaments may act as a means of defence:—

"To explain this novel assertion," he remarks, "we can safely say that many are the beautiful crested woodpeckers of the Brazilian forests, which have scared us from a steady aim of our gun, by the sudden manner in which they threw up their crests the moment they discovered their danger, uttering, at the same time, a loud and discordant scream. The sensation, it is true, lasts but for a moment; but the whole is so sudden and unexpected, that the sportsman is involuntarily startled; and this momentary feeling gives time for the bird to dart among the thick foliage of the forest, and thus effect its escape. The crest of a bird is always erected under a sense of danger or of anger, as every body knows who has seen a cockatoo; so that it has obviously been intended by nature to perform the office of intimidating, however momentarily, the foes of its possessor."—Vol. i. pp. 30, 31.

This is ingenious; and that, under some circumstances, the sudden erection of a crest may act as a defence, is not very improbable; yet, it appears to us, the unsteadiness of Mr. Swainson's gun was far more likely to be produced by the "loud and discordant scream" suddenly uttered, than by the elevation of the crest of the woodpecker.

A very remarkable appendage to the head is found in the *palamedia*; consisting of a long spear-shaped horn, perfectly hard and compact in its substance, which must constitute an admirable weapon of defence.

Respecting the eyes of birds, a few facts may be noticed. They are the largest in species that feed by night, of which the owls are a familiar example. In the nightjars (*caprimulgus*), another group of nocturnal preyers, they are enormous. The reverse is the case in birds that feed by day; and the humming-birds, allowing for their diminutive size, have the smallest eyes in the whole class. Mr. Swainson suggests that this peculiarity may receive some explanation from the fact, that these birds are only in full activity during the most sultry hours of the day, a time when nearly all others have retired to the shade, to avoid the dazzling brightness of a vertical sun.

The power of sight in birds is known to be very great, and far exceeds that possessed by man, and probably by any class of animals. The importance of a ready and quick discernment of their food, in the economy of all kind of birds, is obvious, and is thus provided for. Indeed, the raptorial tribes would scarcely be able to exist, were they not provided with immense powers of vision. Our readers may have marked with interest the flight of the hawk as, hovering over some underwood or thicket, it has prepared for an instantaneous pounce upon its ill-fated victim, which may have been, at the moment, pouring forth a sweet melody, unconscious of the proximity of a destroyer, and the near approach of death. Let us, however, imagine the hawk only provided with ordinary powers of sight, and how different would be the result! Compelled to hunt its prey so near as to be immediately observed—ere the fatal swoop could be made, the little birds would set up a note of alarm, heard and understood by their companions, both as a signal of danger and for instant concealment. Buffon affirms that a hawk can distinguish a lark, coloured like the clod of earth on which it is sitting, at twenty times the distance at which it would be perceived by a dog or a man.

Another instance of great powers of vision is afforded by the swallow. Of this bird, Mr. Swainson remarks, that—

“ While darting through the air at the rate of three miles a minute, it is looking on the right hand and on the left, sideways, upwards, and downwards, for its food. The insects it preys upon are often exceedingly minute—sometimes flying above or below the level of the swallow’s flight; and yet they are seen, captured, and swallowed, without any diminution of the prodigious rate at which the bird is flying.”—*Ib. p. 46.*

How useless would have been the eagle’s talons, or the swallow’s wing, without the addition of extraordinary sight! It is generally imagined, that the vulture owes its power of discovering food to a high development of the olfactory organs. This is, however, an error; as Audubon, the excellent successor of Alexander Wilson in the American wilds, has satisfactorily demonstrated that the vulture, like the other raptorial birds, is directed to its prey by a

great endowment of vision. We can only refer to the decisive experiments published by that zealous ornithologist, in "The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal." Another bird which has been supposed to discover its food by smell, is the toucan; and Mr. Swainson states, that its large-sized bill is "entirely filled with a cellular tissue of nerves, all of which communicate to the two lateral openings of the nostrils." There is reason to doubt the accuracy of the fact here stated; and as the eye of the toucan is rather larger than the whole brain, its power of vision must be excessive, and, most probably, furnishes the means of discovering the carrion, upon which the bird feeds.

The bill of birds is a very important organ in their economy; and its modifications in structure have been used by naturalists as the principal characteristics of the divisions into which the feathered tribe has been arranged. The bill consists of two mandibles, which are analogous to the jaws of animals, although very different in structure. In the majority of birds, the bill is used to seize or catch the food; amongst the *raptore*s, it performs a different function, being adapted to destroying and tearing in pieces the prey which those ravenous masters of the air require. Let us take the powerful bill of the jer-falcon as an example. Its structure is admirably adapted to the most destructive purposes. Stronger, in proportion to its size, than, perhaps, the bill of any other bird, with a prominent tooth, the notch well defined, and the *tomia* curved in the greater part of its outline, this fearful weapon tears, with the greatest facility, the flesh of the animals killed by the powerful talons of the jer-falcon. The other falcons are similarly provided; and each in its sphere, sweeps the wild or the woodland, the brake or the thicket, carrying terror and destruction amongst the weaker denizens of the forests. Well has it been ordered by an unerring Providence, that, in comparison with the other races of birds, the number of the *raptore*s is small; for, had it been otherwise, their rapacity would soon have depopulated the feathered world. For the same obvious reason, they propagate slowly. The domestic fowl—appointed for the food of man—rears with facility a brood of ten or twelve chickens, but the eagle seldom hatches more than two eggs, and this but once a year. The various classes of animals are all nicely balanced. Had the carnivorous tribes been more numerous, the other races would have gradually disappeared from the face of the earth, until, at length, their destroyers would famish, or devour each other. If the reverse had been the case, and there had been fewer or none of the raptorial tribes created, the swarming vegetable feeders would have overrun, and utterly consumed the products of the earth. On either supposition man would perish, and the world roll on in its orbit without a single inhabitant to worship its Creator or shew forth his power.

The bill of the vulture differs from that of the falcon, and,

as our readers are aware, is used for a different purpose. Although strong it is not notched, and in other respects is better adapted to gnawing of carrion than to dividing the flesh of prey recently killed. Hence, the tribe of vultures perform the office of scavengers of nature, and remove from the face of the earth the carrion which would otherwise prove highly offensive.

"They are sparingly scattered over the south of Europe : in Egypt they are more numerous ; but in tropical America, although the species are fewer, the individuals are much more plentiful. No sooner is an animal dead than its carcass is surrounded by a number of these birds, who suddenly appear, coming from all quarters, in situations where not one had just before been seen."—Ib. p. 281.

Thus, in tropical countries, where their presence is most needed, an abundance of these "scavengers" have been provided, and their useful, however offensive, labours prevent pestilence and death. The two most remarkable vultures belong to the new world,—the condor, of fabulous renown, and the "king vulture," whose general elegance furnishes a contrast to the appearance of his *subjects*, and his only claim to be considered their ruler.

The food of the nocturnal birds of prey consists chiefly of mice and other small animals, and their bill is consequently much weaker than that of the other *raptore*s, being much hooked from the base, and without tooth or notch. Some of the larger species seize nobler prey, attacking and destroying birds ; some even catch fish. Alexander Wilson states, that the snowy owl hunts by day as well as night, and patiently sitting on a rock a little raised above the water, until his heedless prey approach, suddenly seizes them with an instantaneous stroke of the foot.

But we must briefly notice a few modifications of the bill in other groups. Amongst the *insessores*, or perching birds, an extensive family subsist upon seeds, nuts, &c. It was necessary, therefore, to provide them with a strong bill, which is consequently of the firmest texture, being not only short, but so thick as to become almost cylindrical ; both mandibles are equally strong, and when closed their height and breadth are nearly the same. An excellent illustration of this is furnished by the *loxia ostrina*, a rare and most extraordinary bird, whose bill is not much inferior to the size of the head. This family of birds has been aptly designated by the old writers "hard billed," in contradistinction to the "soft billed," or insect feeders. There is, however, considerable variation in the size and strength of the bills of birds in this family. In one species of the seed-eating tanagers of South America we find a very powerful bill, and in another a much weaker one, while between the two there exists almost every intermediate variation of size and strength. The cause of this difference of structure in species so closely allied in other

respects, is thus explained by Mr. Swainson in his own ingenious manner :—

“ The seeds and hard berries found in our cold and temperate climates are very few indeed compared to the innumerable variety produced in the vast forests of the New World, whether we regard the variety of the species or the different degrees of hardness they possess. Now, as these small and hard fruits are the appointed food of the tanagers, it follows that an equal diversity of strength should be found in the bill ; that organ, in fact, which is to turn these seeds into nourishment. If there was little variation in the size or strength of the bills of the tanagers, the inevitable consequence would follow, that they would only be able to feed upon seeds or nuts *varying but very slightly in their size and hardness* ; and hence it would follow, that innumerable other sorts, which either did not come up to this standard, or much exceeded it, would be left untouched, and, as food to the animal world, perfectly useless—at least, so far as we can conjecture.”—Vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

Mr. Swainson states, that he is much strengthened in this hypothesis by observing something of the same principle in operation, though not so strongly marked, in the European birds. He refers, as examples, to the bills of our hawfinch, greenfinch, and linnet, which certainly display a considerable disparity of size.

The insectivorous birds, feeding upon soft substances, do not require so strong a bill as that with which the vegetable feeders are provided. The shrike, however, is furnished with a bill of considerable power, the upper mandible of which is strongly hooked. These birds appear to connect the raptorial tribe with the one under notice ; and although their food consists principally of beetles and other insects, they are often known to seize weak birds, which they kill by pinching their necks between the mandibles. The thrushes have a strong bill, with sharp cutting edges to the tomia, as, in feeding upon snails, they have to break the shells by hewing them into pieces. The robin furnishes us with a slighter form of bill, which may be regarded as a type of that of many small birds of this family, and which is well adapted for feeding upon larvae and other soft insects. The woodpecker has a very different task to perform, and its strong wedge-shaped bill, with a perpendicular edge at the end, like that of a hatchet, is an admirable tool, well calculated for the purpose it is intended to effect. By this structure, aided by great strength in the muscles of the neck, this bird can break through and demolish the hardest wood in its search for insects. Wilson states that, in the cypress swamps of America, after the ivory-billed woodpecker has been at work, there may be seen “ enormous pine trees with cart-loads of bark lying around their roots, and chips of the trunk itself, in

such quantities, as to suggest the idea that half a dozen of axe-men had been at work there for the whole morning. The body of the tree is also disfigured with such numerous and so large excavations, that one can hardly conceive it possible for the whole to be the work of a woodpecker." Thus, wherever insect food is to be obtained, nature, by a special organization, has placed it within the reach of the species destined to subsist upon it.

Our readers need not be informed that very different bills from those already described will be required by birds whose element is the water, and whose food consists of the fishes, &c. which that element contains. The bill of the shearwater (*rhyncops niger*) is exceedingly curious, and is thus described by Mr. Swainson :—

" Both mandibles are straight, and so much compressed as to resemble the blade of a knife, placed edge-wise, more than anything else ; the upper mandible, indeed, is slightly thickened at its base, where the nostrils are situated ; but one quarter of its length appears broken off, so that the under mandible protrudes beyond the upper nearly an inch." —Vol. i. p. 72.

This singular conformation has excited much surprise ; and some writers have gone so far as to style it "a lame and defective weapon." Had they been acquainted with the habits of the shearwater they would have spoken very differently. This bird feeds upon shrimps, small fry, &c., which it obtains by skimming the surface of the sea. The knife-like lower mandible cuts the sea without impeding the progress of the bird, and the upper mandible, being at such times elevated above the water, is curtailed in its length, and tapers gradually to a point, so that when closed it offers the least possible opposition. Thus provided, and borne on wings of great expansion and power, the shearwater ploughs the surface of the sea with inconceivable rapidity, and procures its food "with as much apparent ease" (to use the words of Wilson) "as swallows glean up flies."

Robbers are not confined to the human species, and the *lestri* are robbers of the feathered tribes. Their bill is very strong and considerably hooked at the tip of the upper mandible, though, being without tooth or notch, it is not adapted to kill full-grown prey, or even catch fish. Thus left, apparently without any *honest* means of subsistence, the *lestri* rob the nests of other birds, and, what is more strange, rob the gulls of the contents of their stomachs. No sooner does the *lestris* perceive one of its more feeble congeners carrying off a prize, than rapidly pursuing, it compels the gull to relinquish or disgorge the hard-earned game. A similar trait of character is manifested by the frigate pelicans, which do not, however, entirely subsist on such ill-gotten booty.

"We know not," says Mr. Swainson, "a more imposing sight than half a dozen of these aerial birds soaring in mid air, and suddenly falling down into the sea upon a shoal of fish that have approached too near the surface. At other times, during a storm, they soar to such a height that, notwithstanding their size, they appear but as specks in the firmament; all their powers of motion, in fact, are concentrated in the wings, for the feet are so short and imbecile, that when upon the ground they may be approached with perfect ease."—Vol. ii. p. 194.

Birds fly with such apparent ease that man has often thought he could imitate them, and, clothing himself with wings of the best construction, has attempted to mount the subtle element. The effort has always ended in disaster and disgrace. Wings are not the only requisites to make man a flyer,—he must have muscles equal to those of the bird, his spine must be very differently constructed, and he must have a breathing apparatus far more adapted to flight than that he now possesses. In all these respects birds differ very materially from man; and He who gave them wings gave them also an organization fitted for their use. It must be remembered, too, that the wings of the bird are *alive*,—each joint and each feather acts in unbidden harmony with the rest, and a buoyancy of motion is effected which it would be impossible for man to imitate.

That there are great diversities in the powers of flight of various birds, every one must have noticed. These diversities are dependent upon peculiar modifications in the structure of the wings. The structure best adapted to flight is that termed by Mr. Swainson "acuminated." The frigate pelican, above noticed, and the swallow, may be cited as examples. In the acuminated wing, the first quill is generally the longest, the other primaries gradually diminishing until they reach the secondaries, which are unusually short, and terminate at the ends very abruptly. The tertials slightly exceed the secondaries in length. "It is thus obvious that nearly the whole power of the wing is thrown into the ten principal quills, which are those principally employed in all birds to cut the air, but which, in the present family (*hirundinidae*), are most particularly adapted for that purpose." The power of flight which this structure of wings confers upon the swallow, is immense. Who is not familiar with this "faithful harbinger and companion of flowery spring," and has not marked its sudden sweeps, accomplished with the speed of light? Wilson calculates, that in ten years, (many of our small birds being known to live longer,) the swallow, occupied each day for ten hours at an average rate of flight of a mile a minute, would pass over, in the course of its life, "two millions one hundred and ninety thousand miles, or upwards of eight times the circumference of the globe!" The migration of swallows cannot, therefore, be considered at all improbable; and yet we have

been told by some authors, that these birds hide in hollow trees, ruinous buildings, &c.; or, with still greater absurdity, that they pass the winter in torpidity, at the bottom of rivers, or ice-bound lakes. Even that good old man, Gilbert White, whose memory is loved and venerated by all naturalists, was evidently not prepared to admit the migration of swallows, and in various passages of his inimitable "Natural History of Selborne," favoured the opinion of their passing the winter in torpidity. Fortunately, ideas such as these no longer sully the pages of our natural historical authors. The subject of migration is, nevertheless, a difficult one, and is by no means fully understood. It is not the physical power of flight, but the power which guides that flight to the far-distant home of the swallow, which is above our apprehension. The bird that leaves our shores in autumn will return in spring, after traversing hundreds of miles, to the same eaves, and build on the same spot. We may call it "instinct;" but a word to which so many meanings are attached, is too indefinite to give any information. The same faculty which, with unerring precision, directs the swallow, is manifested, though in a less degree, by other animals. Numerous instances have been recorded of cats returning to a place to which they were attached, although they had been carried miles away in close, or in dark confinement. Kirby and Spence, in their "Introduction to Entomology," state, that an ass returned two hundred miles, by an inland route, to a place from whence it had been shipped. Dogs have accomplished the same feat. These were all evidently directed by the same mysterious faculty—a faculty which, though evidently given to most animals, has been denied to man, and cannot, therefore, be correctly appreciated by him.

The falcated, or sword-shaped form of wing, is only possessed by the humming-birds, and is thus described by Mr. Swainson:—

"It differs from that last described (the acuminated), by the two or three first primaries being curved towards their ends, which are rather suddenly rounded off, while all the others which succeed them are pointed. The primaries are certainly developed even more than in the swallow's,—a circumstance which is decidedly favourable to the idea that these birds are the swiftest. \* \* \* Perhaps the most correct definition of the different powers of flight in these two groups would be this—that the swallows have the strongest, and the humming-birds, while their flight lasts, the most rapid."—Vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

The humming-bird is one of the most interesting objects in creation—the smallest of the feathered tribe, and the most beautiful. It is a living gem, whose metallic lustre, glancing in the sunbeams, is unequalled in loveliness. Wilson states, that on arriving at a thicket of blossoms, the humming-bird poises

itself for the space of two or three seconds so steadily that its wings become invisible, or only like a mist ; then thrusting its long, slender, tubular tongue, into the flowers, it extracts the liquid sweets. When two males meet at the same flower, a battle instantly takes place, and the combatants ascend in the air, chirping, darting, and circling round each other, until the eye is no longer able to follow them. The conqueror generally returns to the place to reap the fruits of his victory.

The form of wing which is not adapted to flight, is termed by Mr. Swainson, "abortive." Of this we have examples in the ostrich, cassowary, *rhea*, &c. In the last-named species, the wings are much more developed than those of its congeners, being, according to Latham, no less than eight feet from tip to tip ; but owing to the webs being disunited, they are, like the other abortive wings, useless in flight. In the *apteryx*, the wing is so very rudimentary as to be quite concealed by the surrounding feathers. This singular bird is indigenous to New Holland, a country apparently more than any other productive of the wonders of creation. We may hope for many additional novelties, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, from future investigations of a territory which has already furnished us with forms so interesting and wonderful as the *apteryx*, emu, *ornithorhynchus*, kangaroo, *cereopsis*, and many others.

In the penguin, the wings, although useless as organs of flight, act nevertheless as powerful instruments of motion. They are in fact fins, and act as such. The feathers have the appearance of scales, and the wings, in form, much resemble the fins of a fish. Their use will be best explained in the words of Mr. Swainson :—

" It is asserted by voyagers that the penguins swim with such amazing rapidity that they will pursue and even overtake fishes, upon which, indeed, they chiefly live. This fact would be perfectly incredible, did it not explain indirectly the true use of the abortive wings of these singular birds, which, being used as fins, gives them this superiority of swimming over all other birds ; and confers upon them the possession of four members for this express purpose, when all other birds have only two. That law of nature pervading every part of the animal creation, which preserves the balance of powers and of faculties, by giving additional power to one organ, if another is unusually weak, is nowhere more strikingly and wonderfully displayed than in the penguin and frigate pelican (*tachipetes*.) The one is perhaps the longest, and the other the shortest, winged bird in creation, and yet it is in these very members that the law in question is demonstrated. The feet of both birds upon land can do no more than barely support the body ; but to compensate for this apparent deficiency, nature has thrown such additional powers into their wings, that all other birds must confess their inferiority."—Ib., p. 162.

It is scarcely correct to describe the penguin as the "shortest winged bird in creation," although its wings are in appearance clumsy and useless. Nevertheless, by their admirable adaptation to the habits of the penguin, the speed of that bird in the water almost rivals the swift flight of the frigate pelican in the air.

The modifications in the structure of the feet are very intimately connected with, and adapted to, the habits of birds. Each order presents us with peculiar diversities in the structure of these organs. It is by their strong talons, that the *raptore*s kill their prey, which they deplume, or tear asunder, by their mandibles. The hooked claws of these birds, being acutely pointed, and having beneath two sharp, cutting edges continued to the tip, are capable of inflicting very severe wounds. The foot, too, is exceedingly powerful; and, thus armed, the falcon destroys with great facility the prey which falls beneath its grasp.

In the majority of the *insessores*, the foot is adapted for walking and perching, having the three anterior toes and the posterior one on the same level. To this group belong most of the small birds which people our hedges and trees, and, by their notes, fill the woods with melody. The perching foot, in its typical conformation, has the lateral toes unequal, and the hinder one not lengthened. In those species of *insessores* whose habits are more terrestrial, the lateral toes are of the same length. The crow is a familiar example of this structure. Climbing birds require much support backwards, when in a semi-perpendicular attitude, and this is effected, either by the hallux, or hind toe, being excessively developed, as in the Australian *climacteris*, where this modification of structure is at its maximum; or by the bird having the toes placed in pairs, two before and two behind, a structure which is pre-eminently scansorial, and is most perfectly developed in the woodpeckers (*picidæ*). "On flying from one tree to another, the woodpecker generally alights upon the upright stem, rather than upon an horizontal branch, and immediately begins, in a perpendicular attitude, to explore the bark, and detect the external signs that may appear of its insect food lurking within." Scansorial birds are also assisted, in their climbing habits, by the structure of the tail, which is in most species very strong, having the shafts of the feathers remarkably stiff, and, "in some instances, so hard and rigid, that they appear more like horn than of the ordinary substance." These horny shafts pressing against the bark of the tree, assist the hind claws in rendering the perpendicular position an easy one.

Some few species of insessorial birds have all the four toes placed forward. This structure is found in the swift (*cypselus*) and in the colies (*colinæ*). Mr. Swainson is of opinion

that the swift rests in a perpendicular attitude, clinging, and supported alone by the feet, which are obviously not adapted for perching. This supposition, though highly probable, has not, we believe, been verified by the observations of any naturalist. The colies, unlike the swift, are able to walk, though the principal use of the feet is evidently as prehensile organs. Le Vailant states that, when at rest, the colies, unlike all other birds, hang from the branches with their heads downwards, exactly in the same manner as bats.

Syndactyle feet have two of the anterior toes more or less united together. The most perfect instance of this structure is found in the kingfisher, whose feet are totally useless in walking, the exterior toe being united with the middle one throughout almost the entire length, and the inner toe being not half the length of the others, and not quite as long as the hallux. The kingfisher perches only on the smaller branches, its feet being too small to clasp the larger ones, but the union of the anterior toes, by producing considerable breadth of sole, gives great steadiness to the bird, as, sitting on a naked twig overhanging the water, it waits patiently until its finny prey approach within reach. "Like the love-lorn swains, of whom poets tell us, he delights in murmuring streams and falling waters; not, however, merely that they may sooth his ear, but for a gratification somewhat more substantial. Amidst the roar of the cataract, or over the foam of a torrent, he sits perched upon an overhanging bough, glancing his piercing eye in every direction below for his scaly prey, which, with a sudden circular plunge, he sweeps from their native element, and swallows in an instant." Thus wrote the devoted Wilson, in describing the belted kingfisher (*alcedo alcyon*), and his descriptions surpass in elegance and accuracy those of any other writer. They were copied fresh from the page of nature, by one whose life was mainly spent in the woods and wilds of America, and whose highest gratification was the study of nature's works.

The *rasores*, whose terrestrial habits required feet adapted for walking, have the lateral toes of equal length, connected at the base to the middle one by a small membrane; the hind toe being very short, and raised above the heel. The claws are protected from injury in walking by being slightly bent, and are robust and horizontally flattened to give facility in scratching the ground, that being the usual habit of the *rasores* when searching for food.

Spurs are peculiar to this order, and are used by the males as weapons of offence and defence in the battles which take place at the "season of courtship." In some species, these weapons are formidable, being very sharp, and capable of inflicting a severe wound.

The *rasores* appear to have been destined by Providence for the convenience of man, to whose appetite and comfort the fowl in the farm-yard, the game-birds in the park, and the grouse on the moor are alike specially devoted.

The *grallatores* form the connecting link between the land and water birds, and obtain their food on the shores of the sea, the margins of fresh waters, in marshes, &c. Their legs are consequently formed for wading, and are remarkably long. The feet vary considerably in structure. In the typical genera, *tringa*, *totanus*, &c., the three anterior toes are long, slender, and deeply cleft to their base; the middle slightly exceeds the others in length; the hind toe is rudimentary, and is placed rather higher up the leg than that of the *rasores*.

The jacanas (*parra*) have a very extraordinary structure of the foot, singularly adapted to the circumstances in which they are placed. In these birds the fore toes are not less than three inches in length, and the hind one two inches and a half; the claws are also very long and straight, that of the hinder toe measuring at least two inches. Mr. Swainson gives us an interesting description of the habits of the jacanas, which fully illustrates the use of their long feet:—

“These birds, whose geographic range appears restricted to the tropical latitudes of both hemispheres, are particularly common on the low and inundated grounds of Brazil; and we have frequently seen twenty of them at once, in different parts of a swamp, walking almost upon the water. Such, at least, is their appearance; and although startling to one who is a stranger to their habits, can be thus explained:—More than two-thirds of the surface of these swamps, where the water is generally shallow, is partially covered with the broad leaves of water-lilies and other aquatic plants: it is upon these that the jacana walks while seeking the aquatic insects upon which it feeds. It is clear, however, that, to accomplish this, it must have a very peculiar foot; for, otherwise, the bird would sink in the soft mud below, by its own weight. The toes and claws are, therefore, developed to a most extraordinary length, in order that the bird should be supported by the great extent of surface which its foot covers.”.....  
“It is upon this principle that the snow-shoes of the Canadians are constructed, by which they are enabled to walk with ease upon the snow, whatever may be its depth beneath.”—Ib., pp. 158, 159; comp. vol. ii. pp. 178, 179.

The coots (*fulica*) and phalaropes having the anterior toes margined with a lateral membrane, which in most species is dilated in lobes, are able to swim and dive with great expertness, and thus form the connecting link between the wading and swimming birds.

The *natatores*, whose element is the water, have, in the typical genera, the three anterior toes connected together by a mem-

brane or web reaching to their extremities ; the foot is thus specially adapted to swimming. The form of the foot best adapted for swimming, appears to be that possessed by the cormorants, (*carbo*,) in which the four toes are all placed forward, and are connected with each other by a membranous web, which extends to the claws. The power which this structure gives in the water must be immense.

The voice of birds is interesting to every one. There are few who have not derived pleasure from the songsters of the grove. How delightful is the fine melody of the thrush, as, seated on the high branch of some lofty tree, he welcomes the orb of day with his powerful notes—and how exquisite are the strains of the lark, which, ascending towards the blue vault of heaven, seems to pour forth a full harmony of praise at the footstool of the Eternal ! Nature is a temple of Deity, and the feathered creation its choir.

The powers of voice in birds are very great, and surpass those of any other animals ; “the crowing of a cock may be heard at a far greater distance than the shout of a man, even had he the lungs of a Stentor.” Where the competitors are so numerous it would be difficult to determine the species whose melody is the sweetest. Of course much would depend upon taste, and not a little, perhaps, on early associations. Common consent, however, seems to have assigned the pre-eminent station amongst English birds to the nightingale, whose strains there can be no doubt owe something to their being produced at the “witching hour,” when all others are silent. But even the nightingale must give place to the mocking-bird of America, whose power of song, as described by Wilson, is almost incredible. “In his native groves, mounted on the top of a tall bush, in the dawn of dewy morning, while the woods are already vocal with a multitude of warblers, his admirable song rises pre-eminent over every competitor. The ear can listen to *his* music alone, to which that of all the others seems a mere accompaniment.” (*Am. Ornithology.*) But the most astonishing part of the mocking-bird’s endowments, is its power of imitating the voices of other species. The cackling of hens, the melody of the song-thrush or blue-bird, the shriek of the bald eagle, and the notes of many other birds, are all mocked with astonishing accuracy. “Even birds themselves are frequently imposed upon by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates, or dive, with precipitation, into the depths of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the sparrow-hawk.” (*Ibid.*)

Almost every portion of the globe furnishes us with peculiar modifications of the notes of birds. In Tobago a poor ignorant African, when prying into some dark and solitary grove, heard a sepulchral voice uttering “*Who, who—who are you?*” and, as

the story goes, took to his heels in affright, leaving the possession of the dreaded spot to the *prionites bahamensis*, which makes these startling interrogatories. The Englishman, wandering through the swamps of Demerara, may have listened with feelings of delight to the mellow tones of a distant church-bell, hallowed with associations of England and of his home ; but the sounds were deceptive—no worshippers were there—from the summit of some lofty tree, the bell-bird was pouring forth his solemn knolls. The wilds of America resound throughout the night with the melancholy cry—“*Whip poor Will*,—*Whip poor Will!*” monotonously repeated by one of the night-jars ; and the Indians believe these sounds to be the sighings of a departed spirit. Numerous superstitions attach to this bird, as well as to the ghostly owl, whose dismal hootings seem scarcely to belong to this world, but “making night hideous,” terrify the ignorant. The great-horned owl makes the American woods echo the live-long night with its “*Waugh, O!—Waugh, O!*” and, according to Wilson, “has other nocturnal solos, no less melodious, one of which strikingly resembles the half-suppressed screams of a person suffocating, and cannot fail of being exceedingly entertaining to a lonely benighted traveller, in the midst of an Indian wilderness.”

The parrots furnish us with another example of harshness of voice in birds. We can scarcely conceive a more disagreeable annoyance than to remain for a length of time in a room where a quantity of these discordant screamers are confined. The beauty of their gaudy plumage scarcely repays us for the infliction which our ears have to endure.

But it will be interesting to inquire *why* birds are gifted with powers of voice, so strong and so various. The primary reason seems to be, to enable them to recognise each other. Quadrupeds do not need this provision ; their sight and smell are sufficient. But it is evident that birds are differently circumstanced : they wander far from each other, and the arboreal species, which are more especially endowed with vocal powers, are, even when near, so completely hid by surrounding herbage that, without the utterance of their peculiar notes, mutual recognition and companionship would be difficult.

“Hence it will be observed that the sexes of those species which habitually live together at all seasons, utter at intervals a peculiar sort of twitter whenever they quit one tree for another, as if to keep their mates constantly informed of every fresh movement.”...“The same little signal-notes are used by perching birds which feed in societies, as the goldfinch and long-tailed titmouse, no less than by the wren in the spring, when exploring with its mate the best spot for erecting their new nest, or gathering materials for its construction. In autumn, however, this latter bird is solitary, and it flits across our path, or

explores the tangled hedge, a silent and a solitary rambler."—Ib., pp. 165, 166.

That the principal reason of the great development of voice in birds is to enable them to recognise each other, is, we think, very evident, and can scarcely be doubted. Mr. Swainson regards the habit of the *mycetes*, or Brazilian howling monkeys, as, in this respect, analogous to that of birds. "These animals, when in quest of their mates, ascend one of the lofty trees of the forest, and from thence send forth those hideous howls, which can be heard at the distance of nearly a mile."

The notes of birds are also used as a signal of danger, and seem to be, when so uttered, almost universally understood. Whatever may be the species that sounds the alarm, every little bird within hearing hurries off into instant concealment, or flies away to less dangerous quarters. But there may be many modifications of tone which we cannot appreciate, and a note, expressive of much to a kindred species, may appear to us merely a chance modulation.

Buffon, and other French writers, have erred in asserting that the song of birds is given alone as an accompaniment of their loves, though there can be no doubt that one of the objects of this faculty is to enable the male to charm his mate during the tiresome period of incubation; and often may these exemplary husbands be seen perched on a twig, near their secluded habitation, swelling their little throats with bursts of harmony to comfort and cheer the beloved inmate of the nest.

As a concluding reply to the query, "Why do birds sing?" we may remark that it is to them a pleasurable occupation, and at the same time a source of enjoyment to mankind. In this, as in innumerable other instances, our gratitude is due to the Creator for having so fashioned and ordered the objects by which we are surrounded, as to promote our well-being and happiness.

We regret that Mr. Swainson has not devoted a chapter to the consideration of the adaptation of the colour of birds to their habits. The subject is an interesting one, and would have afforded full scope to his ingenuity. In a few instances, only, he has incidentally referred to it; and we shall therefore attempt, in some measure, to supply the deficiency. The varied hues which adorn the plumage of birds, however pleasing to man's senses, were not given merely for his gratification. That, we have no inclination to deny, was one object; but there were other, and, to the birds themselves, more important purposes to be served. Some species required especial means of protection from the piercing ken of their stronger enemies, while others had to be provided with especial means of procuring their food. Both these objects have been effected by peculiarities of colour.

The best mode of protecting an animal from the attacks of the carnivorous or raptorial tribes, is obviously to render it as little conspicuous as possible. Imagine a lark, whose habit is to be much on the ground, coloured scarlet, and it would be an object to which the attention of every passing hawk would be immediately and fatally directed. Resembling, however, the clod of earth on which it sits, the lark rests in comparative security. For the same reason most species of animals resemble in colour their indigenous locality. "The wood-snipe," says Mr. Blyth, in his excellent edition of White's *Selborne*, "is of the exact tint of the dead leaves over which it runs; the snipe, that of the marsh; and the rail, that of coarse and decaying vegetation in the ditch." The colour of the ptarmigan in summer closely resembles the hue of the locality in which it is placed, but in winter, when the ground is covered with snow, the same colour, so far from being a protection, would render the bird a very conspicuous object. Nature has provided for the emergency, and in autumn the plumage of the ptarmigan gradually changes, so that, when winter clothes the fields in white, the bird may vie, in unsullied purity, with the snow on which it treads. It might be difficult, perhaps, for one, who had been admiring in a museum the brilliant plumage of a number of the tropical species, to believe that their variegated feathers could furnish means of concealment; yet such is undoubtedly the case. In our own inclement country, the vegetation is comparatively plain and unvariegated in its hues, and the same character marks the birds whose haunts are amongst our copses and trees. But the face of nature wears a very different aspect in warmer climes; there, the earth brings forth in abundance its richest treasures—the trees are laden with golden fruit,—flowers, whose loveliness surpasses our highest conceptions, strew every path—and the entire vegetable kingdom is decked in its brightest ornaments. If we can imagine a scene such as this, and the whole glistening beneath the rays of a vertical sun, we shall then understand how the ornaments which render tropical birds so remarkable in our museums act in the midst of surrounding splendour and brilliancy as means of concealment.

That certain peculiarities of colour are of great importance in enabling some species to obtain their food will, we think, be evident from a few examples. Professor Rymer Jones relates that a piscatorial friend of his, when dressed for his favourite amusement, always appeared in a sky-blue coat and white trowsers, which he termed "sky fashion," and was of opinion that this dress was the best adapted to conceal him from the fishes. The professor states that "shortly after this conversation, walking through a collection of aquatic birds, I was rather startled to find that they almost all wore blue coats and white waistcoats;

almost all of them were dressed "sky-fashion." If you look at the heron and sea-gulls you will find blue coats and white waistcoats upon them. What could induce the fish to come within reach of the heron? Were it visible, they would go in all directions; but, on account of its colour, they are not able to perceive its presence." The fishes look up to the heron, which having the sky for its back-ground, is best concealed from their observation by its plumage being "sky-fashion." The extract, which we have given from Professor Jones's observations, is taken from a report of an interesting course of lectures, which that gentleman has recently delivered in various parts of the country.

The bee-eaters (*meropidae*) furnish us with some very curious adaptations of colour to their mode of capturing prey. A Brazilian species, which we had the pleasure of inspecting in the noble museum of Lord Derby, has the plumage entirely dark, with the exception of some white feathers on its breast, bearing a sufficient resemblance to the white petals of a flower, to decoy the bees in their search for honeyed blossoms. The bird, thus provided with admirable powers of attraction, rests quietly on some twig, until its winged prey, darting towards their supposed booty, are seized with sudden velocity. Another instance of a similar character is afforded by the blue-bellied bee-eater of Africa, whose bright crimson throat, surrounded by the herbage of the tree on which it is perched, presents an appearance of a most lovely flower. Some species are provided with beautiful crests, evidently for the same object. Thus in the royal tody, of Brazil, (*megalophus regius*), the feathers are so disposed that they radiate from the hinder part of the head, and form a semicircle, resembling the half of a full-blown syngenesious flower; the size of the crest being enormous in proportion to that of the bird, and having a very splendid appearance. The ground colour of the feathers is of the richest chestnut-red, and at the tip of each there is a spot of velvet-black, margined with steel-blue, which is separated from the red by a stripe of rich orange. That the effect of this flower-like appendage should not be impaired, the plumage of the body of the bird is exceedingly plain.

Some crests are termed by Mr. Swainson, "concealed," i.e., when at rest, the feathers of the crown, which are not conspicuously elongated, are laid perfectly smooth. "When the bird, however, is excited, the central feathers of the crown suddenly expand, radiate almost in a circle, and display what is often a most beautiful and striking ornament." "These crests are generally of a bright yellow, red, or golden; sometimes, though very rarely, white." Mr. Swainson suggests the use of "concealed" crests, in the following passage:—

"The bright colours of the crest are only at the roots of the feathers, which are all tipped with the ordinary colour of the plumage; so that

when these are expanded, they are no inapt representation of the opening petals of a marigold, or some beautiful little syngenesious flower; the predominant colour of that class, no less than of the crests which represent them, being different shades of yellow. Now it is a circumstance, no less singular than remarkable, in conjunction with what we shall presently state, that of between fifty and sixty birds possessing this sort of crest, every one is purely insectivorous—that is, living entirely upon insects, which are caught, not by hunting, but are seized only on their near approach." The tyrant fly-catchers of Brazil "take their station on a particular branch, and there patiently wait for such insects as come within range of a sudden dart. It is to this family of birds that the crests we have been describing are almost entirely restricted. We have frequently seen the *benteri* of Brazil—the most familiar, as well as common species, in that country—open and shut his fine yellow crest, when merely occupied in watching for insects. This fact, joined with the considerations already mentioned, has more than once suggested to us the idea, that these flower-like ornaments are occasionally used as snares, to attract the attention of insects, so as to bring them within reach of being captured by a sudden dart."—Ib., pp. 37, 38.

We can readily imagine that some of our readers will regard it as improbable that insects do thus mistake the colouring of birds for flowers. Observation, however, would remove the doubt. A small piece of white paper, laid on the grass, will attract the cabbage butterfly as it slowly flies over a garden, and a coloured object, by no means more resembling a blossom than the feathers of these birds, will in like manner draw aside bees, and other insects.

Our limits remind us that we must bring our discursive remarks to a close, or we had intended to have noticed the other subjects treated of in the volumes before us:—"Nests of Birds," "Ornithological Bibliography," "Laws of Nomenclature," &c. We cannot, however, take leave of Mr. Swainson, without expressing our regret that in many cases he displays a bad spirit towards his coadjutors in the science, and assumes an intellectual superiority over those who have the misfortune to differ from him, which neither their talents nor acquirements can justify. Even Cuvier, to whose abilities and zeal naturalists are under the greatest obligations, is spoken of disparagingly, and his labours are termed "pre-eminently unsuccessful;" and the kind-hearted and indefatigable Waterton is sneered at as an "amateur." Other opponents to the quinary hypothesis are told that they "have hitherto done nothing to place their names in the prominent ranks of science;" that they are "inadequate judges upon matters they have not sufficiently studied;" and that they are "mere assertors of their own opinions." Mr. Swainson regards the "obloquy" which he has endured as the "usual portion of an original dis-

coverer," and expresses himself contented to "abide the decisions of another generation." This is all, to say the least of it, in exceedingly bad taste, and the *animus* displayed is not very creditable to an "original discoverer," who evidently anticipates that "another generation" will rank him with Newton, Davy, and the other immortals. Very different will be the spirit manifested by the humble inquirer into the mysteries of nature, each of whose steps must remind him that of much he is necessarily ignorant, and that no human mind can grasp, in all its fulness, the expanse of creation, or can correctly appreciate the wisdom and goodness displayed in even the most insignificant of the works of that Being, whose power is alike evidenced by the worlds that spangle the firmament, and by the "creeping things" that inhabit the earth.

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Art. IV. *A Wreath for the Tomb; or, Extracts from Eminent Writers on Death and Eternity: with an Introductory Essay and a Sermon, on the Lessons taught by Sickness.* By the Rev. Edward Hitchcock, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, Massachusetts. Amherst: Adams. London: Jackson and Walford. 1839. 12mo, pp. 250.

IT is in no small degree gratifying to us to have become acquainted with this volume from the United States, the work of "THE GEOLOGIST of the state of Massachusetts," whose merits as a practical philosopher are so highly prized. His "Reports" to the state government are universally acknowledged to be of the greatest scientific and economical value; particularly the last, recently published, in two splendid quarto volumes, with many engravings on a large scale. But here we meet the Professor in another, and infinitely higher walk of effort, as a member of a Christian college, and a tutor of young men for the gospel ministry. This small book derived its origin from a season of extraordinary illness among the students and other members of Amherst College. Professor Hitchcock sought to make the most profitable use of those afflictive events, by preaching the Sermon here published. The text is Psalm cxix. 71—" *It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes;*" and the subject is treated in a way remarkably original and interesting, as combining with the feelings of vital Christianity sentiments dictated by natural philosophy and the habits of thought thence derived. The Essay is upon the propensity of mankind to *alienate their minds from the contemplation and expectation of DEATH.* After discussing this subject upon its

general principles, and their reference to mankind universally, the author makes a *specific application* to the following classes of men:—Young persons: men in the meridian of activity, merchants, agriculturists, lawyers, medical men, ministers of the gospel, operative mechanics, retail tradesmen; cultivators of the fine arts, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; statesmen and politicians, military men, literary men, including original authors, editors of periodical works, and poets; metaphysicians, mathematicians, experimental philosophers, physiologists, chemists, the votaries of natural history, geologists;—old men, habitual invalids. The author then enlarges upon the beneficial influence of cultivating *a holy familiarity with death, and a lively sense of the nearness of eternity*. In the enforcement of this object, he adduces many striking reflections which, while of an unusual character, are by no means strained or far-fetched, but marked with the charm of united originality and simplicity. We conclude this notice of so interesting a work with two citations, which will convey an idea of the manner in which the numerous topics are treated.

“ Geological researches bring a man into almost constant intercourse with the most astonishing and sublime of nature’s productions. Now, he penetrates the deep and dark cavern, studded with sparry wonders, and perhaps the charnel-house of the antediluvian world. Now, he urges his way through the rugged mountain-gorge, where over his head hang the jutting rocks, just ready, apparently, to crush him. Anon, he climbs the lofty precipices, and, as he looks down into the yawning gulf beneath, what creeping of nerves—what thrilling emotions of wonder and sublimity, does he experience! Again, he gazes with awe upon the mighty cataract, whose deafening roar drowns his voice. Does he open the solid rocks? What amazing records of past existence, and of God’s vast plans, are brought to view! In short, he is everywhere in inevitable contact with the most unequivocal displays of God which creation can furnish. And yet, to the God of the Bible, to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, he may be an utter stranger. Not that his mind never entertains a thought of God, nor that he is not sometimes filled with awe and amazement at the power of God: for who can see, as he sees, the arm of Omnipotence laid bare among the wild and sublime scenes of nature, without some intellectual realization of the Divine presence? But he may have no complacency in the *moral* character of God; and transforming grace may never have subdued his proud will and given him that new heart, without which he cannot see the kingdom of God. In short, he has never learned to live to the glory of God, and therefore has made no preparation to die. It may be that, when the thought of death comes over him, he has some indistinct apprehension that all is not right between his soul and God; and some faint resolutions of amendment are excited: but his pursuits are too engrossing to permit their immediate execution. Some new fossil must first be described, or some interesting district of country ex-

plored. Before these objects are accomplished, others equally attractive are brought before the mind, and the period of fancied reformation is crowded further and further onward, until it is pushed into **ETERNITY**, where the voice of inspiration declares there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge. Ah, deluded man! What an aggravation of your future misery will it be, to have seen so much of God in his works on earth!"—pp. 37, 38.

"The importance of attaining to *eminent holiness*. This alone can sustain a man, when sickness brings death near. As it is an easy matter to construct a vessel, or find a pilot that shall be safe and sufficient when the sea is open and calm, so mere philosophy, or morality, or a speculative adoption of Christianity, or self-righteousness, will seem abundantly sufficient while we are in health and prosperity, but, when the mountain-billows begin to roll over us, and the deep yawns beneath us, and the fatal breakers are before us, one only vessel can outride the storm—one only pilot can guide it through in safety. That holiness which makes Christ the Alpha and Omega, which is the fruit of God's Spirit, and which has become vigorous by long exercise, is alone sufficient for such an hour. And never yet has that holiness failed a man, in that dark passage where every other refuge fails. But this is not the acquisition of an hour, a week, or a month. It is the fruit alone of long discipline in the school of Christ; the reward of patient and persevering labour in his service. He who has neglected that service, or lingered in the Christian race, may cry in agony after this holiness, when he sees his perishing need of it. Oh! it is only in the season of health that so rich a boon can be acquired!"—pp. 105, 106.

"Sickness gives to the Christian an experimental proof of *the truth and power* of the doctrine of *gratuitous salvation by the blood of CHRIST*." [We omit much, regretting the necessity.] "Oh! to make his own righteousness a ground of trust, in such an hour, would resemble his conduct who should cling to the ship's anchor, as she was going down amid the waves! His own righteousness! If he has any just conception of the strictness of God's law, or of the sin that has been ever mixed with his best and holiest services, sin enough to bring just punishment upon every one of those services, he will search in vain for any righteousness that he will dare call such, as the pure light of eternity falls upon it." [The author warns against deception, from "gross ignorance of the Bible, or philosophic pride."] "He will rather be disposed to write *barrenness* upon all his life, and to loathe and abhor himself before a holy God. He will see that his case is a hopeless one, unless some other resting-place can be found for his sinking soul. Here, his eye is met by the cross, standing as the central pillar of truth, based immovably on the promise and mercy of God, rising high above all the storms of life and death, and bearing on its surface the inscription—'*Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*' To that cross, faith turns her eager gaze, and throws around it her arms, as with a convulsive embrace. The soul feels at once that she has found at last a refuge, from which *neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other*

*creature, will be able to separate her.* The man may have doubts whether his faith is genuine; but he no longer doubts that he has found the *true and only* way of a sinner's justification before God."—pp. 87, 88.

There are many, very many, other passages of great beauty and energy, which we would gladly copy, did our limits permit. Especially one train of argument has greatly impressed us, (pp. 57—68), on the salutary influence which an habitual regard to eternity will have upon all the faculties and capacities of our nature, by *quicken*ing us to vigorous exertion in the administration of our worldly affairs, in studies, scientific labours, the work of the ministry, efforts for the salvation of our fellow men, the enjoyment of prosperity, and the endurance of sorrows, especially those arising from a delicate and feeble bodily constitution. The references to biographical examples (Boyle, Pascal, Baxter, &c.) are happily introduced, and the whole volume is at once so useful and so affecting, that we feel it difficult to lay it down.

Its larger portion, one hundred and forty pages, consists of extracts from various authors, on the solemn subjects of the work, selected for their peculiar power and tenderness in thought and language. Among them, we find Drélincourt, Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, Saurin, Hannah More, Chalmers, Irving, and J. A. James.

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Art. V.—*Memorials of the Great Civil War in England, from 1646 to 1652.* Edited from Original Letters in the Bodleian Library, by Henry Cary, M.A. London: Henry Colburn. 1842.

THESE volumes belong to a class of publications which we are always glad to see upon our table. Their recent multiplication is a happy omen of the future state of our historical literature, and we shall be gratified to find that they obtain such a circulation as will encourage Mr. Colburn and his industrious collectors to continue their researches. Vast materials for the elucidation of English history are known to be deposited in our public libraries, and it will be disgraceful to the national intelligence and patriotism, if, in these days of literary enterprise and drudgery, they are not drawn thence for the information of the people. The labour of writing history has hitherto been immense, and few of our popular writers have had either leisure or inclination fairly to encounter it. Such men as Hallam, Godwin, Tytler, and Lingard, are in this respect exceptions to their class, and their productions have, in consequence, a permanent value, which raises them far above the works of their contemporaries.

A similar admission is due on behalf of our friend Dr. Vaughan, whose admirable *History of England under the House of Stuart*, published by the Useful Knowledge Society, is distinguished by indefatigable research, sound judgment, and unblemished integrity.

It is not, however, on account of such men that we specially rejoice in the appearance of volumes like those before us. There is another class, more numerous and more immediately influential, whom they cannot fail greatly to benefit. We refer to the writers of our light and ephemeral literature—men whose productions are in every one's hands, and whose opinions are consequently circulated, by a thousand channels, through the length and breadth of the land. It is impossible to take up such publications without perceiving instantly that, with very few exceptions, their authors are miserably deficient in that species of knowledge which is necessary to an accurate portraiture of past times, and more especially to a faithful delineation of the nicer shades of character,—the blending of various and anomalous elements in the intellectual and moral constitution of the more prominent personages of our history. Everything is, for the most part, vague, general, and flimsy, exhibiting only the rude outline,—the representation of a class rather than of an individual. The most erroneous impressions are thus conveyed to the popular mind, and the progress of political ethics and the improvement of society are in consequence retarded. An extensive familiarity with the correspondence of past times, and especially with the familiar and confidential letters of our fathers, is the means best adapted to correct these evils, and to give at once an accuracy and a breadth to the descriptions of our writers, and the historical conceptions of our people in general.

Nothing can well be conceived more jejune and superficial than the views entertained by the majority of our countrymen on the disputed points of their own history. That certain kings reigned at certain periods, that Henry VIII. murdered his wives, and his daughter Mary burnt her protestant subjects; that the long parliament arrayed itself in arms against Charles I.; that the king was beheaded, and that Cromwell, under the title of Protector, was constituted ruler in his stead; that the Stuarts were restored, in the person of Charles II., and were finally expelled at the Revolution of 1688;—this constitutes about the sum total of the historical lore of the great mass of our countrymen. Nor is this the case with the lowest and most illiterate class only; the charge attaches with almost equal force to the more intelligent and better informed. Other things might have been expected from them, but he who calculates on finding such will be grievously disappointed. On these accounts, therefore, we rejoice

in the appearance of the present volumes, and shall proceed to introduce our readers to some acquaintance with their contents. The letters range over a period just anterior to that occupied by the correspondence recently edited by Dr. Vaughan, under the designation of the "*Protectorate of Cromwell*."

The title of the present collection is somewhat of a misnomer, as the civil war was nearly closed when the letters contained in it commenced. The king erected his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August, 1642, and the first of the letters now before us bears date April 23rd, 1646. In the interval, the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby had demolished the forces of the king, and placed him at the mercy of his exasperated subjects. The latter of these engagements took place in 1645, and constituted in reality the close of the monarch's military operations. We mention these circumstances in proof of our remark respecting the title of the work, and pass on, without further comment, to notice its contents.

In the spring of 1646 the king was at Oxford, with the remnant of his scattered forces; his only hope being derived from the known differences of his opponents. On these differences he calculated with his usual infatuation, and so misjudged his position as to deem himself more secure than either of the two parties to which he had been opposed. "Let them never flatter themselves so with their good success," said the stolid monarch to the French agent, Montrevil; "without pretending to prophesy, I will foretel their ruin, except they agree with me."\* Charles, however, could not await at Oxford the result of his intrigues. The forces of the parliament were enclosing him in the city, and the following letter from Ireton to Oliver Cromwell, announces a communication which he had received from the quarters of the monarch. The date of the letter is, April 23rd, 1646, only four days prior to Charles' flight to the Scottish army:—

"Last night late there came from Oxford to my quarter some officers, late of the king's party, with passes from the General to go beyond sea, (most of them being of the forty allowed, upon the treaty at Truro, first to go to the king.) Two of them did severally declare to me, (as by direction from the king and divers English about him,) to this effect: That the king had several offers made to him of considerable assistance to declare for him, upon some conditions, (not mentioning nor acknowledging to know the conditions, nor positively the parties;) that there were divers solicitors now pressing him to a present resolution, and his condition required the same; but that the king, and most of the English about him, were averse to such offers, (as ruinous or dangerous to the kingdom,) and inclined (before any other way) to cast himself upon the parliament and people of England,

\* Clarendon, 5, 355.

and (for that purpose) was desirous (without further capitulation) to come in to the General, or whither else the parliament would have him, and at once to deliver up all his garrisons, and disband his forces, if only he might be assured to live and continue king still, without being deposed for aught past ; that (to avoid all jealousy or opportunity of his making a further party or factions) he would either come to London or not (as the parliament pleased), or go to any place in the kingdom, whither the parliament would have him, stay where they would, have no officers about him, nor resort to him, but whom they would assign ; save only the duke of Richmond, my lords of Hertford, Southampton, Lindsay, Mr. Ashburnham, and some few others, (whose names I remember not,) whom he desired for society only, and not to be in power or place about him.

“ They pretended necessity for a speedy resolution herein, (otherwise the king would be precipitate upon desperate resolutions, to try for safety otherways;) that for prevention thereof, they were expected to return to Oxford this morning, with but my opinion, whether the king might rationally expect to be thus received ; else (should they go on without any return) it would be conceived hopeless. I would not suffer either of them to go back or make return, nor admit the least further intercourse or communication about it ; neither would I assume to give my sense of the thing, but instead thereof, gave them a copy of the parliament’s declaration, (as the clearest assurance of their intentions,) and told one of them I would (according to my duty) acquaint my General and superior officers with what was proposed, and leave them to impart it to those we serve. Wherein (wishing only a tenderness of the king’s honour in the carriage of it, and fearing some danger in long suspension and their utter silence) they did acquiesce.”—Vol. i. pp. 1—3.

Not succeeding in his attempt to open a communication with the parliamentary officer, the king resolved on the desperate step of throwing himself into the hands of the Scotch. Intelligence of his flight speedily reached the army. It was supposed that he had taken the direction of London, and serious apprehensions were entertained, lest he should be welcomed by the citizens, who were mostly in the Presbyterian interest. The fact of his departure from Oxford is thus communicated by Colonel Payne, to the commander of the garrison at Abingdon :—

“ I have intelligence from others, that the king went this morning by two o’clock towards London ; that the gates were kept close ; and having demanded the reason of the extraordinary step they took, it was answered, It concerned a kingdom, and that there would be stormy doings at London ; for if the lord-mayor proved an honest man, it would be very well for their side, and that we should see one half of the parliament sitting at Northampton, and the other half in London ; and that if any did refuse to yield to the king, the rest would force them to it. These things being of so high concernment, I held it my

duty speedily to acquaint your honour therewith, well knowing your wisdom can discern how to make a true use hereof. I shall not at present be further tedious, only take leave, and rest,

“ Sir, your honour’s faithful servant, GEO. PAYNE.

“ Abingdon, April 27, 1646,  
eleven at night.

“ The party that told me the intelligence above written, thinks he went disguised to London, and that he made use of Sir Tho. Fairfax’s seal, which they have gotten cut in Oxford.”—Ib. pp. 9, 10.

Clarendon and Rushworth state that the king left Oxford, attended only by Ashburnham and Hudson; but in a letter subsequent to the above, Colonel Payne states that he went out with three attendants, the Earl of Southampton, Doctor King, and Mr. Ashburnham; and that serious disturbances took place in the city immediately after his departure. “ Their hopes are,” he remarks, “ he will be entertained in the city; and talk much of the lord-mayor, that he is to keep the king private at his house, and that he hath made a party in the city for the king.” The hopes of the royalists were at this time most absurdly raised, as will appear from the following extract from a letter from William, afterwards Archbishop, Sancroft, to his father, dated May 4th:—

“ The news was strong upon the Exchange on Friday, that the king, having escaped out of Oxford in a disguise, was surprised, but within two hours it was cried down again. On Saturday, a post came hither with his mouth full of it; but upon search, he was found to have a blister on his tongue. Upon discourse with those that I think understand much in the present state of affairs, I think it probable that the king is still in Oxford; that his resolution is, upon Fairfax’s approach, without much disputing to give up himself into his hands and to go for London. The faction that hath the vogue at Westminster fear nothing more than that; they know not what to do with him if he comes to London; his presence will attract hearts, and animate many of the members to appear for him with open face, who now mask under a vizor, and sigh to see a party, they like not, carry all before them. To say nothing in the meantime, that the late breaches with the synod, Scots, and city, have much disposed men’s minds to look back from whence they are departed; and informs them sufficiently that the men are not impeccable and infallible, whom they have looked upon as such all this while.

“ The truth is, men begin to grow weary, and it is time; and I hope the fatal giddiness that hath possessed us all this while, will have at least this good in it, that it will bring us back at last to the point where we began, otherwise the round would not be perfected. Thus much is certain, ever since the voting down of the synod’s and city’s petition, the assembly-men have prayed very zealously for his majesty, and began to fumble and botch in their mention of the parliament, that God would shew them what a horrible sin it is to break covenant with him, &c.; this was Mr. Calamy’s phrase; and last Sunday, Mr.

Vines, new master of Pembroke Hall, preaching at St. Mary's, could afford them no more, but 'that God would direct them in the right way, and take them off from self ends.' And now I have mentioned him, I'll give you a touch or two of his sermon. The first shall be a glance at the commissioners. 'Certainly,' saith he, 'the church had a power of jurisdiction in it before the supreme magistrate was Christian; and why it should lose that under Constantine, which it had under Nero, I know not. Yet there is a generation who tell you, you must only meddle with the pot of manna, but the rod of Aaron doth not become your hands.'

"His next was concerning sects; (his text was 2 Cor. xi. 3.) 'The Apostle,' saith he, 'is for simplicity; but here is a multiplicity among us; the swarm is up; 'tis risen, and falls in so many parts, that I fear it will never be brought again within the compass of one hive, within the pale of one church.' But I shall make my repetition too long for the sermon. I am sure it was three quarters of an hour, and yet he read it all: two great faults in others, but in an assembly-man no more but peccadilloes. So much for him."—Ib. pp. 16—18.

The real direction of the king's journey was, however, speedily ascertained; and his arrival at the quarters of the Scotch army before Newark, was reported to the commons in a letter, dated May 5th, in which it is stated, "that the king, with three others, came with great speed this morning, about seven of the clock, to Southwell, and went to the house of Mons. Montrevil, the French agent." A subsequent letter (p. 56) from the English agent at Paris, throws considerable light on the part which the French court had taken in the intrigues preceding the king's flight to the North. The hopes and the fears which were now rife amongst his adherents are thus described by Sancroft, in a characteristic letter to his father, dated May 11th:—

"For the public news, I will tell you what is talked upon the Exchange. I knew you were amazed, as well as we, to hear of the king's last action. We had some fellows at the Leaguer, at Newark, about the time; others that came from London last Saturday. What I hear amongst them is thus much: His majesty, upon his coming in and reception by the Scots, proffered them Newark if they would protect him; for, saith he, there is an Independent party that sways all above, who will cut your throat and mine too if they can prevail. The Scots replied, that of late they had lain under many misapprehensions; and they were loth to give any further ground of jealousy, and therefore refused to accept the town."

"Hereupon, say some, it was delivered to the English; say others, to neither, but the works slighted by the garrison itself, the king signing the warrant for the doing of it. On Wednesday last came the news to London that the king was come in. The vigilant, active, and Independent party, who stand always watching their advantage, were at the house, and presently fell a voting that the king should be carried as a prisoner of war to Warwick Castle. The next morning

this vote is carried up to the lords for concurrence. They storm; send down for a conference; have it; Essex manageth it, and makes a large harangue: that they were bound by their covenant to defend the king's just rights; that they had hitherto fought for that end to remove his evil counsellors; he had now deserted them, and freely offered himself; and therefore nothing now to be done but to disband the armies, and conclude a peace; and that rather than they would consent (he spoke in the name of the lords) to make the king a prisoner, they would all die in the place. Sir Philip Stapleton seconded him with another as resolute. And now the commons were a full house too, and vote counter to the last night's resolve, and confess themselves ashamed of the action. They are the words of a parliament-man to him that told me.

"All the expectation now is, what the Scots will do. Some say they are removed northward with the king as far as Doncaster. Not so far, say others, but only to get fresh quarters. All men's eyes are upon them, to see what course they will take; for that is the hinge upon which all turns. If they stand firm with the parliament, as is not doubted they will, we shall have peace and presbytery. The Independent is exceedingly crest-fallen, and, if the Scots continue their fair correspondence, is like to lose all; for then the parliament will concur with the presbyters; and though the other part desire much to fight the Scots, yet they will want the name of the parliament to give countenance to the action.

"If anything make the Scots and parliament break, it will be the business of the commissioners. The London ministers preach broadly against them. Mr. Calamy tells the story of the seven sons of Seeva the Jew, and applies it thus: 'Pastors we know, and elders we know; but commissioners, who are ye?' Jenkins of Christ Church (he that told the parliament, when he preached before them, that they had brought us out of Babylon, and left us in Babel) tells the passage of the Emperor H. VII., that was poisoned in the sacramental bread. 'So,' saith he, 'these men poison Christ's own disciples, the presbytery, that is good and holy; but, commissioners, here is the poison, take hold of it.' A third saith publicly, he hopes rather to see the streets run with blood, than the commissioners continue. The city, too, being set on by some of the house, are putting forth a remonstrance in defence of the synod, against some particular persons in the lower house, and some of their proceedings. There will be such passages as these: 'Mr. H. Martin, a man expelled the house for speaking treason, and shuffled in again we know not how; one that never speaks in the house but when he is drunk, and yet speaks every day; yet being an Independent, is thought the only fit man to present the queries about *Jus divinum* to the synod. Mr. K. Fiennes, one that forfeited his life to justice, at a council of war, for basely betraying Bristol,' &c.; and so of the rest."—Ib. pp. 29—32.

The part taken by the Scotch commissioners in inducing the king to repair to their quarters, has been matter of acrimonious dispute,—some denying that they were privy to his design, and

others maintaining that they tempted him to the desperate step by promises which were never intended to be fulfilled. The fact of their having been cognizant of his purpose, is clearly established by a letter in the present collection from Sir Thomas Hanmer. (p. 95.)

We have entered the more largely into this part of our history, as it is one of great importance, and is, at the same time, but little understood. Its influence on the subsequent fortunes of the king is matter of notoriety. Charles was speedily delivered up to the English parliament, from whom he was afterwards taken by the army. The unhappy monarch retained somewhat of the semblance of royalty, but the substance had passed for ever from his hands. Had he been wise and true-hearted he might yet have repaired his fortunes, but his inveterate duplicity misled his better judgment, and involved him in a series of intrigues as fatal to his reputation as to his life. Even Edward Hyde, now a fugitive in Jersey, exulted in the intelligence of the king's flight, and referred to it as "the good news of the king's safe arrival in the Scotch army, and of his honourable reception there ; which truly," he adds, "I hope will quickly beget a true, and produce a happy peace."

Several letters printed by Mr. Cary throw much light on the relation subsisting between the parliament and the army, from which we should be glad to transcribe largely did our space permit. The character of this army was altogether peculiar. It never had been, and probably never will be paralleled in our history. The sagacity of Cromwell had early perceived the necessity of calling into operation some principle which should be a successful antagonist to the gallantry of the cavaliers. His clear-sightedness assured him that mere brute force could not be an adequate counterpoise to the high spirit and hereditary courage of the royalist gentry. Baxter tells us, that when but a captain of horse, Cromwell "had an especial care to get religious men into his troop." It was upon the strength of the religious principle that he grounded his confidence of ultimate success, and if this principle sometimes degenerated into fanaticism, it was not on that account less adapted to the immediate object of the future protector. The character of the soldiers is best shewn by the kind of appeal which their officers made to them on the eve of battle. A striking instance of this is furnished in the following address of old Major-General Skippon, when leading his troops to a charge : "Come, my boys, my brave boys!" said the veteran, "let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children; come my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God

will bless us."\* These soldiers took a personal interest in the struggle, and fought under the full persuasion that they were discharging a solemn duty to God and their country. "The exercises of devotion were mingled with the tactics of war, and their camp alternately resounded with the voice of praise and the shout of battle. Their minds were braced by long and ardent meditation on things invisible and divine, and they were consequently nerved with a more than mortal resolution. While their spirits were repressed by the timidity or caution of their leaders, they failed to achieve the purpose which animated their breasts; but when their religious zeal was allowed to burn unchecked, they swept the troops of Charles before them with a rapidity which astonished and bewildered the beholder. The calm observer of modern times is wholly incompetent to estimate the intensity of the passion which impelled their course, and mingled in strange confusion the most touching appeals of religion with the fiercest denunciations, and the most martial bearing."† The presbyterians at first predominated in the army, but were subsequently overborne by the independents and other sects who constituted the strength of the new model.

These men were deeply interested in the maintenance of religious liberty. They had fought for it at the peril of their lives, had practised it somewhat freely, and were not therefore disposed to relinquish it lightly at the bidding of the presbyterians. Such, however, was the evil which threatened them in the year 1647, when the parliamentary ascendancy of the presbyterian party was temporarily restored. To this apprehension, which in itself had been sufficient to determine their course, there were added many just grounds of complaint against the parliament for leaving the troops without pay, exposed to civil suits for actions performed in the war, and for attempting to separate them from the officers, under whose conduct they had saved the sinking fortunes of the parliament from ruin. These circumstances led to frequent correspondence between the soldiers and their general, which was conducted in a style by no means discreditable to the former. From this correspondence, we can find room only for the following, addressed by the agents of several regiments to Major-General Skippon, which, according to White-lock, was presented to the House, on the 30th April, 1647:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, who have (for these two years past and more) been by your honour conducted through many dangers, and by Providence have been hitherto protected, who have often seen the devouring sword of a raging enemy drawn forth against

\* Forster's Hampden, 353.

† Price's Hist. of Noncon. ii. 313.

us, threatening destruction to us, and now see them vanquished, and ourselves seemingly settled in peace and safety, are yet sensible of a more dangerous storm hanging over our heads than ever the malice of our open enemies could have contrived. or their fury caused to fall upon us ; which, unless diverted, strikes not only at our liberty, but also at our lives.

“ To whom (next to our Maker) shall we fly for shelter, but to your honour, our patron and protector ? From what secondary means shall we expect our deliverance, but from that hand that hath so often been engaged with us, and from that heart that hath as often been so tender over us, and careful for our securities ? Can we suffer, and you not sympathize ?—can we be proclaimed traitors, and your honour remain secure ? Ah ! dear sir, let your wonted care for us be further demonstrated ! Cease not to speak for us, who, (together with yourself,) in obedience to your commands, have adventured all that is dear to us for the kingdom’s safety.

“ Hath anything been desired by us that hath not been promised us, or than we have just cause to expect ? If there hath, then let it, and the authors thereof, perish. But can the parliament, upon misinformation, pass us for enemies, and we not therein perceive the designs of our enemies ? Can we be satisfied with a compliment, when our fellow-soldiers suffer at every assize for acts merely relating to the war ? Is it not our lives we seek ? Where shall we be secure, when the mere envy of a malicious person is sufficient to destroy us ?

“ Were our enemies in the fields with their swords in their hands, we should expect no more than a bare command and a divine protection in our endeavours to free ourselves. But it is another, and a far worse enemy, we have to deal with ; who, like foxes, lurk in their dens, and cannot be dealt with, though discovered ; being protected by those who are entrusted with the government of the kingdom. It is the grief of our hearts that we cannot desire our own securities without the hazard of your honour, if but in speaking in our behalf. When shall we see justice dispensed without partiality ?—or when shall the weal public be singly sought after and endeavoured ? Can this Irish expedition be anything else but a design to ruin, and break this army in pieces ? Certainly, reason tells us, it can be nothing else ; otherwise, why are not those who have been made instruments in our country’s deliverance again thought worthy to be employed ?—or why are such (who for their miscarriages have been cast out of the army) thought fit to be entrusted, and those members of the army encouraged and preferred to that service, when they are, for the most part, such as (had they considered their just demerits) might rather have expected an ejection than employment ?

“ We are sensible, yea, far more sensible, of the bleeding condition of Ireland, crying aloud for a brotherly assistance, than those forward undertakers in this present design manifest themselves to be ; and shall willingly contribute the utmost of our abilities towards their relief, when we shall see this to be the only thing sought after and endeavoured.

"But we are confident that your honour cannot but perceive that this plot is but a mere cloak for some who have lately tasted of sovereignty, and, being lifted beyond the ordinary sphere of servants, seek to become masters, and degenerate into tyrants. We are earnest, therefore, with your honour to use your utmost endeavours, that before any other or further proposal be sent to us, our expectations may be satisfied; and if they are not, we conceive ourselves and our friends as bad as destroyed, being exposed to the mercilessness of our malicious enemies; and shall your honour, or any other faithful servant to the state, be appointed for the service of Ireland, and accept of that employment, we must of necessity (contrary to our desires) shew ourselves averse to that service, until our just desires be granted, the rights and liberties of the subjects of England vindicated and maintained, and, then, as God and our own consciences bear us witness, shall we testify to the kingdom the integrity of our hearts to the service of Ireland, and our forward actions shall demonstrate the sincerity of our expressions in reference to that employment."

—Ib. pp. 201—4.

The sequel of this dispute is well known to every reader of English history. On the 1st of the following June, Cornet Joyce arrived at Holmby, where the king was retained in the custody of parliament, and demanded his person. The soldiers on duty refused to act against their comrades, and Charles, apparently without reluctance, was conveyed on the following day towards Newmarket. His condition during the period of his being in the custody of the army was far preferable to what it had previously been. Disappointed, however, in his expectations, and perhaps alarmed for his personal safety, the king effected his escape on the 10th of November, to the astonishment both of the presbyterians and the cavaliers. "The little spark of hope that seemed to appear," says Dr. Holesworth to Mr. Sancroft, Nov. 13th, "is in some danger of being extinguished by the king's withdrawing himself on Thursday night, by reason, he had advice that his person was not safe where he was. It hath put all into amazement, not knowing what to think, and being ignorant whither he is gone, very unaccommodated, but that he walks still under the shade of the Almighty." (p. 359.)

During the king's imprisonment various discussions took place amongst his clerical advisers, respecting the lawfulness of his complying with the ecclesiastical measures of the parliament. Various considerations rendered the king exceedingly unwilling to give even a temporary sanction to the measures of the presbyterians. Reasons of state policy concurred, on this point, with his earliest and most cherished convictions, and it was only at the eleventh hour that he was brought to yield a reluctant assent. The following letter, from the Bishops of London and Salis-

bury to the king, refers to the subject, and will be read with interest :—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—In obedience to your majesty's commands, we have advised upon that proposition, and your majesty's doubt arising thereon; and, according to our duty, and your majesty's strict charge laid upon us, we shall deliver our opinions, and the sense we have of it, plainly and freely, to the best of our understandings; nor shall we fail in point of fidelity, however we may in judgment.

“The doubt is touching the lawfulness of a temporary compliance in matters of religion, in the state they now here stand; that is, (as we apprehend it,) whether your majesty may, without breach of your oath, and with a safe conscience, permit for some time the exercise of the directory, for worship and practice of discipline, as they are now used, and stand enjoined by ordinance.

“For resolution whereof, we shall take the boldness to make use of those grounds which we find laid to our hands in your majesty's directions. For your majesty's constancy, and fixedness of resolution not to recede from what you have by oath undertaken in that matter, as it gives us a great latitude to walk in, with safety of conscience, in your endeavours to that end, (the rectitude of intention abating much of the obliquity in all actions,) so the full expression you have been now pleased to make of it, and that what your purpose at present is in order thereunto, doth much facilitate the work, and fit us for a resolution.

“Taking, therefore, your majesty's settled determination touching the church for a foundation immovable, and this proposition (in your majesty's design) as a means subservient thereunto; considering also the condition your majesty's affairs now stand in, being destitute of all means compulsory, or of regaining what is lost by force; we cannot conceive in this your majesty's condescension any violation of that oath, whereof your majesty is so justly tender, but that your majesty doth thereby still continue to preserve and protect the church by the best ways and means you have left you, (which is all the oath can be supposed to require;) and that the permission intended, (whereby in some men's apprehension, your majesty may seem to throw down what you desire to build up,) is not only by your majesty allowed to that end, but, as your majesty stands persuaded, probably fitted for the effecting it in some measure.

“And as your majesty will stand clear (in our judgments, at least) in respect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, so neither do we think your majesty will herein trespass in point of conscience; because your majesty, finding them already settled, and (as it were) in possession, do only (what in other cases is usual) not disturb that possession while the differences are in bearing; or (which is more justifiable) permit that which you cannot hinder if you would; not commanding it, (for that may vary the case,) but, which possibly may be better liked, leaving it upon that footing it now stands, enjoined by authority of the houses, which is found strong enough to

enforce obedience: which intendment of your majesty would stand more clear, if this point of a temporary toleration were not laid as the principal of the proposition, (as now it may seem to be standing in the front,) but as an accessory and necessary concession for the more peaceable proceeding in the business.

"The first part, therefore, in the proposition might be for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties, (as it lies in the proposition;) and then that during the debate all things remain *statu quo nunc*, without any interruption or disturbance from your majesty, provided that the debate determine, and a settlement be made within such a time, &c.; and that your majesty and your household in the interim be not hindered, &c.; which, notwithstanding, we humbly submit to your majesty's better judgment to alter or not."—Ib. pp. 169—172.

Brief letters on the same subject from other bishops are also printed in this collection, in which the reluctance of the writers to admit the claim to toleration preferred by other religionists is clearly indicated, whilst their solicitude for the king's safety led them to veil their reluctance beneath much ambiguity of expression. But we must pass on to other matters.

Several of Cromwell's letters are printed, some of which are strikingly characteristic. One thing is apparent throughout them, that however the General could mystify his meaning when he sought to do so, no man could speak or write in clearer or more forcible language when he was desirous of being understood. Several of his letters relate to his Irish campaign, and strangely mix religious sentiments with a cool detail of the wholesale slaughter that was perpetrated under his command. The following extract, illustrative of this statement, is taken from a letter addressed to the Speaker:—

"Sir, What can be said to these things? Is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? Is it the wisdom and counsel or strength of men? It is the Lord only. God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by a divine leading: God gets into the hearts of men, and persuades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field. If the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitic to have writ it. They know it, yet they know not what to do.

"I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government in the greatest trust, that they may all in heart draw near to God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation, that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst

the children? And if it will not be received, that these are seals of God's approbation of your great change of government, which indeed was no more yours than these victories and successes are ours; yet let them, with us, say, even the most dissatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that he hath 'pulled down the mighty from his seat'; that he calls to an account innocent blood; that he thus breaks the enemies of his church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord, and think of us as they please, and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God, and we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native country; and the Lord give them hearts to do so too."—  
Vol. ii. p. 202—203.

A very characteristic letter of Jeremy Taylor, every way worthy of the subtle genius of the author of "Ductor Dubitantium," is printed in the second volume, but is too long for quotation, and must therefore be passed over.

The following, from Mr. Sancroft to his father, under date of Feb. 10th, 1649, announces the death of the king, and expresses the views which were entertained of that event by a large portion of the community. We may differ from the writer in his estimate of the deceased monarch, but we cannot but admire the genuine out-pourings of a heart, whose sincerity was beyond doubt:—

"Sir,—What all men sadly presaged when I wrote my last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate. The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the Son of God poured out his. And now we have nothing left, but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that he would shew forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten his coming to judgment; and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can read, or thought conceive, without horror and amazement.

"I send you no papers, nor can I delight to take in any, since I read the saddest that ever England saw; those, I mean, that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles, the pious and the glorious; with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all that the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for in this world.

"And now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, it is but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose; for the church here will never rise again, though the kingdom

should. The universities we give up for lost ; and the story you have in the country, of Cromwell's coming amongst us, will not long be a fable. And now it is grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty) to pray for kings, and all that are in authority : the doors of that church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot (without danger of a pistol) do, what is more necessary, pray according to their duty.

" For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may with safety pour out my vows for Charles the Second, the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues, as well as kingdoms.

" In the meantime, there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a church in persecution to flee to ; and there is all our refuge. I long exceedingly, sir, to wait upon you, that I may more safely communicate my thoughts to you ; nor shall I adventure any more of this nature till I see you. In the meantime, with my humble duty to yourself and my good mother, with my hearty love to all my brothers, sisters, and friends, beseeching God to comfort you all, in all your public and private sorrows, I humbly take leave ; and subscribe myself, sir, your obedient son,

W. S."

—Ib. 117—119.

We must venture only on another short extract, taken from a letter from Mr. Dillingham to Sancroft, dated July 30th, 1650, which we quote as illustrative of the style in which many royalists were accustomed to refer to the great Protector. Such letters, though inducing little respect for their authors, are interesting, from the light which they throw on the feelings then rife throughout a powerful party :—

" I hear such things of Cromwell, as my Modern Intelligencer gives me little reason to believe : (if my desires were observed, you had the sight of him last week, happily not the reading.) One in discourse about the Lord's Anointed, stuck not to say, he thought Cromwell the very same. And shall that oily nose at last go for the Lord's anointed ? No, we have better terms to express so much desert by. It is the saints' *minimum quoddam naturale* ; a Nol with the wisp, the least spark of life that ever man saw : or to take him in a more thundering way, it is error carbonadoed, the red dragon, the third great luminary, the commonwealth's *Noli me tangere*, the original sin of all new lights. If some lusty fly durst venture upon it, and blow it to purpose, you would soon see it spawn the maggots of a thousand young heresies yet. The new commonwealth is a mere excrement blown from it : it is the golden calf which the people were about setting up when Essex was upon Edgehill ; Pandora's box with a cover ; that which people rather gaze at than delight in, and wherewith they are mastered, like a company of jackdaws in the night at sight of a torch : were that quenched, they would be at their nest again. It is Samson's foxes' firebrands, and all beaten together into an intolerable nose ; the state's hot-house, since the new act ; the elephant of reformation, that can easily catch all plots against the state in his snout ; the devil's breeches turned

wrong side upwards, and clapped by a mischance to the General's face. But flies must not be too bold with the candle for scalding their wings. It is God knows what ; and, do what I can, I must leave it the same I found it."—Ib. pp. 226, 227.

We should have been glad to have extracted two letters commencing on pp. 235 and 244 of this volume, but must desist. Those who are desirous of knowing what was done by the parliamentary commissioners at Oxford and Cambridge, may refer to the letters themselves.

On dismissing these volumes, we feel no hesitation in strongly recommending them to our readers, as a valuable contribution to the history of a most important epoch in our annals. A vast number of the letters which they contain are of little value, and might have been omitted without loss, but the collection as a whole is more sterling and valuable than most similar publications. The wheat bears a larger proportion to the chaff, and will amply repay the labour of selection. We take leave, however, to repeat a suggestion which we have made on former occasions, and which we are growingly convinced is deserving of the serious consideration of the editors of such works. A mere collection of unconnected letters must of necessity be uninteresting to the general reader. This is a serious defect, which editors and publishers would do well to avoid. The remedy is in their own hands, and may be easily applied. Let the more valuable of such letters be worked into something like a continuous narrative, illustrative of the chief points of our history, and the volumes then produced will be as interesting as they are valuable—as attractive to the general reader as they will be instructive to the more diligent student. As an instance of what we mean we may refer to Mr. Tytler's *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, than which there is not of its kind a better book in the English language.

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Art. VI. *Translation of Select Speeches of Demosthenes, with Notes.*

By Charles Rann Kennedy, Esq., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Deighton, Cambridge; and J. W. Parker, London. 1841.

FROM two to three centuries ago, the English language was well furnished with translations of the principal Greek and Latin classics, executed in a style creditable to the scholarship of that age, and capable of bearing comparison with the contemporary European translations. Copies of most of these are now very rare; and the antique style, equally with the types and print, would repel common readers. Since the Stuart Restoration,

(the era of decline in all national genius,) we have also had various translations; but nearly all of them below mediocrity. Take those which, as English compositions, may be regarded as among the best; Pope's Homer, Melmoth's Letters of Cicero, and Murphy's Tacitus. We do not ask how much learning has been spent in producing them; but, what sort of insight do they give us into the style and spirit of their originals? As if to shut out the possibility of publishing new translations in the present day, which should fairly represent the capacities of the age; ill-judging booksellers from time to time swamp the market with republications of tame, paraphrastic, and inaccurate versions of writers remarkable for simplicity and energy. We are satisfied that the whole blame rests with our universities, especially with Oxford; which ought to guide the printing press of this country by the indirect yet efficient influence of superior knowledge. We now look to the University of London and its metropolitan colleges with some hope, that the eminent scholars who are gathered about it as a nucleus, may supply to us this deficiency: on which subject we may venture a few more remarks before closing this article.

We trust we may hail the appearance of the work before us, as the birth of a new era in English translation: but before commenting on its execution, some words may not be misplaced, as to the translator's choice of an author. The name of Demosthenes, as that of Cicero, is familiar to tens of thousands who have never read a line of either; and even to men certainly well educated, it may not be superfluous to hear distinctly what are the circumstances which make the works of the Greek and Roman orators so peculiarly instructive. We must, however, confine ourselves to the *Greek* orators, not to get too far from our immediate subject. Professed historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and others of far less name, occupy their own field of utility, and are indeed indispensable to us. We would not breathe a thought to bring them into any comparative contempt. Yet they cannot do that for us which the works, partly of poets, but yet more of orators, do;—let us into the busy heart of society, and shew us the inward springs by which the machine then moved on. There were also peculiarities in Athenian institutions, which made the proceedings of their law courts cover a far greater surface of society than can be the case with us, and which elevated the Athenian pleader to a station of scientific eminence. Both these points need some explanation.

In consequence of the proverbial expensiveness of English justice, and the unintelligible confusion of English law, a vast number of suits is withheld from our courts, which, in a commercial and eminently busy country, would else naturally come into

them. Litigiousness is repressed by a denial of justice. Moderate men submit to great hardships before they can reconcile themselves to a law-suit; and as for criminal prosecutions, respectable persons think few annoyances so great as that of being anyhow implicated in them. In short, we may fairly say that the records of *our* courts would by no means furnish an average sample of English life. Posterity would read in them much of the grasping and the gross, the fraudulent and the criminal; but we might justly protest against the idea that such were the staple commodities of our day. In these points the Athenians differed widely from us. Their lawgivers, from Solon downward, had brought into the market *cheap justice* in wonderful abundance; we mean, as far as the legislatorial wisdom of that day could possibly furnish justice. Nor can it be doubted that the Athenian laws, as a whole, were excellent; and that the prosperity of Athens largely depended on this excellency. But a natural result of cheap and prompt law, is, that people consume it in large quantities. Minor differences, which are with us made up in silence,—the weaker party submitting from necessity or prudence,—were by the Athenians at once laid before the judge or the legal umpire. (For a highly organized system of *arbitration* was instituted at Athens, beside the system of *judge and jury*.) Hence it was, that all their neighbours regarded the Athenians as incurably litigious; an opprobrium which the English will assuredly earn, if ever *cheap justice* is placed within their reach. Moreover, the intimately close relation between each citizen and the state; since in those ancient commonwealths every citizen bore a *public character*; subjected even the most retired and inoffensive to be dragged into the public courts. The very fact of being retired and inoffensive, might be looked on as a culpable indolence, in a state which needed the active services of all its wealthier and well-educated citizens. Such characters therefore were, for more reasons than one, *butts* of attack for false or malicious prosecution; and most prudent men in those days became members of clubs constituted for mutual defence in the criminal courts. When thus the most moderate and respectable of the citizens were continually coming within the judicial sphere, either with or without their own will; it appears a just inference, that the characters and dealings which we meet with in the fragmentary remains of the Attic forum, are no very unfair sample of all that was to be found in Athenian life.

But again, the great defect in the administration of Athenian law, (on which Mr. Kennedy comments with much zeal, while complacently contrasting the superiority of our English courts,) lay in their not having a bench of professional judges. Not only were the juries, like our juries, taken at random from the com-

munity; but the judge also was selected for moral qualities alone. The laws were short and clear, and habitually kept in consistency with one another by constant and vigilant superintendence—(so, at least, it was enacted that they should be, special magistrates being appointed for this duty); and thus, it was imagined, professional learning was little needed in the judge. Then, as a natural consequence, neither was the principle admitted, on which so much in our judicial proceedings turns, that the judge determines *the law*, the jury *the fact*. With them, the judge was little more than the president or chairman, to decide on the *order* and *forms* of proceeding. Mr. Kennedy lays great stress on this, (and we believe, with much truth,) as being a principal and very serious error in the Attic law courts; not that we believe a bench of professional judges to be an *unmixed* benefit. However this may be, the effect of the Athenian regulations was to elevate the professional advocate into *a lecturer on Athenian jurisprudence*. It was his business to persuade the jury by instructing them in the law, as well as by enforcing his proofs of the fact; and though unfortunately many of the laws, which, at the bidding of the speaker, the clerk had to read aloud, have not come down to us, (or the copies, which we have, are suspected to be of later manufacture)—still the reasonings of the orator, founded on the law, generally enable the critic to ascertain pretty exactly what the law said. Now this is the only real method of understanding or of remembering the laws of any country: to learn them in their practical application to individual cases. Moreover, in the nature of the arguments employed, in the appeals to feeling, in the details of narrative, we gain an insight, otherwise unattainable, into the public and domestic morality, and into the ordinary routine of business and life, in a nation whose history is rich in instruction, and whose mind has deeply influenced the intellectual being of civilized Europe. Select addresses and decisions of our English judges must be, we have no doubt, eminently instructive; but they would probably want the interest and spirit which pervades the speeches of an Attic orator, who unites within himself the earnestness of the pleader and the teaching spirit of the judge.

What we have hitherto said refers chiefly to private causes, or at least to judicial oratory. But the same want of education on the part of the legislative assembly of a democratic state, placed the statesman too in the position of teacher, or rather preacher; aiming at once to instruct, convince, and persuade; while by reason of the scarcity of written records, as compared with our printed vehicles of information, the public harangue dealt largely in historical recapitulations. Without therefore undervaluing the efforts of modern English eloquence in the senate; in an

historical view it is less important that they should survive than the political speeches of Attic orators; less indeed, than those of our parliamentary statesmen one or two centuries back.

Having been thus led to expatiate on the great value and interest of the extant works of Attic eloquence, we cannot forbear to digress on the infatuated neglect of both Greek and Roman oratory in the University of Oxford. What a mine of solid knowledge the orations of Cicero contain, we have no room to set forth, much less to insist on the value of his voluminous extant correspondence—indeed it is superfluous. Yet in our oldest and richest University, the works of Cicero and Demosthenes\* are unrecognised, unheard of, and unknown, except so much of them as may have been picked up at school. Generation after generation of students passes through their academic career, without a single opportunity of hearing a lecture on these great classics; or if in particular colleges, a lecturer may now and then venture on ground so unusual, (for to prove *a universal negative* is always difficult,) obviously no high amount of excellence in the lecture can, under circumstances so inauspicious, be expected. A few of the *philosophical* works of Cicero do, no doubt, make their appearance occasionally in the public examinations, as adjuncts to those of Aristotle; nor can we undertake to prove that the zeal of individual students does not prompt them now and then to add to their list a *speech* or two of Demosthenes, though it is at least exceedingly rare. But undoubtedly the orations alike of Cicero and of the great Athenian speakers are systematically suppressed in college lecturing; less, perhaps, from any personal fault in the tutors, than because the time is so unduly occupied by *Aristotle*—a writer whom we are not about to depreciate, but one, whom to appreciate and understand, requires an amount of effort, which we believe might be much better spent, and a maturity of years greater than that which Oxford students have attained. Besides, the ablest of the Oxford tutors will (by the restriction on the marriage of Fellows) generally be young men. Few of them have had *time*, by energetic efforts of their own, to learn by themselves that which the University neglected to teach them; and yet fewer can have the *motive* for this, considering that their post of tutor is but a temporary one (viz., until they marry); that, meanwhile, any eccentricity on their part might cause their pupils to fail in the public examinations; that all innovation is sure to arouse opposition; and that in all probability they will leave their occupation, before they will be able to bring about any such change in the public schools as will back up and justify their alterations in the college lectures. For such

\* The University of London is wise enough to pursue a very opposite course.

reasons, and others, we excuse or apologize for individuals; but so much the more do we look on the system as radically bad, and absolutely requiring radical changes, before Oxford can become, what it thinks itself, a leading organ of classical knowledge.

As for Cambridge, while it is very hard (we think impossible) to defend her *University* regulations, her separate *colleges* possess an energy and a power of isolated action, which elevates her remarkably above her rival. It is not now and then, but steadily and uniformly, that her Fellows of Trinity vindicate for themselves an eminent place among English scholars. We must not trust ourselves to name individuals, further than to call the reader to remark, that Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, the translator of the *Select Orations of Demosthenes* now before us, is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Mr. Kennedy entitles his small volume, "Translation of *Select Speeches of Demosthenes*," and in his preliminary statement he merely calls them "*certain* speeches hitherto untranslated, and not so well known as they deserve to be." In his preface, also, he opens by the words—"I lay before the public, *speeches delivered in civil causes* in Athenian courts of justice." We are surprised that he always avoids to inform his readers, that the speeches thus selected by him constitute a whole in themselves, all belonging to the same year, B.C. 364, (probably the 21st of Demosthenes' life,) and to the same series of events. In short, these five speeches are alone extant, of those spoken by Demosthenes against his fraudulent guardians. The ancients named them "*Epitropic*," which may be translated rather obscurely by the word *Tutorial*. The two last of these have been condemned as spurious by the ablest modern critics of Demosthenes; but Mr. Kennedy retains them without appearing to question their genuineness. We are not blaming him for this; for, without affecting to compete in learning with the great critics alluded to, reasons suggest themselves for overruling any practical consequences of their decision. Ancient commentators had long since remarked the similarity of the style (especially in the two last, *against Onotor*) to that of Isaeus, the oratorical preceptor of Demosthenes; and had thought it probable that Isaeus either actually wrote, or at least corrected and polished them. Now to us this is quite unimportant. Whether Demosthenes had much or little help from his master in composing them; whether he *imitated* the style of Isaeus, or recited by memory compositions of Isaeus, we care not. It is enough if he did speak them at the trial, and if they are not inventions of a later age. His oratorical fame does not rest on them; and a young man of twenty-one, when his whole fortunes were at stake, would naturally get all the help he could from experienced friends.

But to us, the instruction concerning Athenian laws and customs, and the acquaintance gained with the situation and circumstances of the speaker is not thereby lessened.

The volume before us contains two hundred and eighty-two pages, of which only eighty are occupied by the translation itself; the rest are filled with matter illustrative of the author. While it would be too much to say that Mr. Kennedy has *severely* tied himself to the rule of making the end of all that he writes to throw light on the original; yet it must not be supposed that his author is a mere peg to hang his own speculations on. We think it beyond a doubt that he, at least, errs on the safe side, in entering so amply into the discussions which *rise out* of the orations themselves. The principle has been long admitted, that nearly every translation is imperfect without notes; since that which is perspicuous in Greek to a Greek, is often unintelligible to an Englishman when rendered into perfect English. In these legal matters, moreover, it is of great importance to obtain clear ideas of the processes, and of the distinctions of technical terms; all of which not only is difficult when stated too concisely, but takes no hold of the memory. The method which Mr. Kennedy has chosen, of writing *Excursions* (as German editors might call them) on each question as it occurs, seems to us very judicious; and they are made far more interesting by the contrasts which he calls us to remark between Athenian and English law. His own legal studies here give him a great advantage; but we are thankful to him for adopting and abiding by the following maxim:—"I bear in mind, that I address myself to those who are little versed in legal phraseology. If, therefore, I am compelled to use technical phrases, I shall explain them, or the practice or usage with which they are connected." When shall we see jurisprudence, as a *science*, and not as a mere heap of details concerning the law of *one* country, studied at our Universities? Not till then, can we expect our legislation or our administration of the law to be rid of its mediaeval barbarism. It is indeed a comfort to feel, that these historical researches cannot be prosecuted without giving an impulse to the study of law as law, and helping to break the fetters by which English lawyers are enslaved to precedents and to the letter of formulas.

This leads us, however, to add, that Mr. Kennedy has systematically expressed, by genuine English terms, the technical words which occur in the Greek;—names of *office*, as well as names of legal *processes*. In many instances this could not be done without making a rather free translation; but we are satisfied that he has done wisely in the choice he has made. In a book of *reference* (as the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, now publishing) it may be, and probably is, advisable to retain the

original technical names; but in a book intended to be *read* as a Translation or a History, the opposite method is assuredly to be preferred. In fact, if a historian fills his pages with foreign words, he converts his book into an antiquarian discussion, and a great loss of vividness and freshness is incurred—a fault with which some able modern productions are seriously chargeable. Nevertheless, as it is decidedly important, that, where possible, all classical scholars should use the *same* English phrases for the *same* Greek (or Latin) terms, we think Mr. Kennedy would have done a service by annexing a short vocabulary to exhibit the nomenclature which he has adopted. We should be disposed to carry the principle of *translation* into words which scholars seem, almost by general agreement, to *transfer* unchanged. Thus, by way of example:—

- ἄρχοντες, Magistrates.
- ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, Chief Magistrate.
- ἐπιστάτης, Warden [*custos urbis*].
- πρόεδροι, Presidents.
- πρύτανες, Privy Councillors (?)
- πρυτανεῖον, Council Hall. &c. &c.

It is however a very delicate question, what degree of *freedom* should ordinarily be used in translating; and some will think that Mr. Kennedy has occasionally carried his freedom too far. We confess that we do not like a translation to be so thoroughly English in its air, that we lose all trace of antiquity. A little homeliness and quaintness, reminding us that the speaker is an Athenian, is rather pleasing to us; for example, if Mr. Kennedy had always translated  $\omega\ \alpha\gamma\delta\rho\epsilon s$ , “Oh men!” we should have liked it better than “Gentlemen.” Yet this is a question of taste; and he would probably reply, that the Greek phrase expresses respect, which “Oh men!” does not; since our language does not distinguish  $\alpha\gamma\theta\rho\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma$  (a human creature) from  $\alpha\gamma\eta\pi$  (a manly person, a brave freeman, &c.) Assuredly, to preserve the more spiritual and vital qualities pervading a composition, is far more to be desired, than any obscure diligence in details. Yet it is with much jealousy that we make this avowal; for nearly all English translators of the past century, under cover of presenting the soul of the author, give us neither body nor soul, loosely shuffling-in upon us a thing of their own; while a few (witnesse Gordon's Tacitus and Dryden's Translation of the first book of the Iliad) become extravagantly coxcombical, affecting to write, as the author *would have* written, had he been an Englishman! That the reader, however, may judge what measure of liberty Mr. Kennedy has allowed himself, we will present two passages—first, translated literally by ourselves; and next, as they are found in his version.

I. Opening of the first speech. [*Literally.*]

“ If Aphobus had chosen, O men of the jury! to act honestly, or to commit what we dispute about to friends, there would have been no need of lawsuits or trouble. I should then have been contented to abide by their decisions, so as to have no difference with him. But since he shunned to have those who well knew our affairs, decide concerning them, and is come before you who do not know any of them accurately, it is necessary for me to try by your help to get my rights from him.”

*Translated by Mr. K.*

“ Gentlemen of the jury,—If Aphobus had been willing to act like an honest man, or to submit the matters in dispute between us to the arbitration of friends, there would have been no need of law-suits or hostilities. I should then have been contented to abide by their decree, which would have put an end to all our differences. Since, however, the defendant has declined the umpirage of persons well acquainted with our affairs, and has chosen to come before you, who have but a very slight knowledge of them, I am compelled to seek for redress at your hands.”

II. From the third speech, § 10. [*Literally.*]

“ For I, O men of the jury! established my right to prosecute him for his guardianship, not by making up a total valuation, as one might do who was trying to slander, but by setting down every item, both whence he got it, and how much, and from whom; and I nowhere inserted the name of Milyas as knowing any of these things. Now this is the opening of the bill of plaint:—‘ Demosthenes has the following complaint against Aphobus: Aphobus is in possession of my money, held by him as my guardian; first, sixty minas, which he received as the dowry of my mother, according to my father’s testament.’ This is the first sum of money of which I say that I am defrauded. But what do the witnesses depose? They ‘ depose that they were present with the umpire Notharchus, when Aphobus confessed that Milyas was a freeman, having been set free by the father of Demosthenes.’ Consider now with yourselves, whether any orator, sophist, or magician, seems to you capable of becoming so marvellous and so clever in speaking, as, out of this testimony, to convince any human being that Aphobus had got his mother’s dowry? and by saying what—oh, by Jupiter? *He confessed Milyas to be a freeman. And why the more have I the dowry?* Not at all, I presume, at least on that account, would it appear.”

*From Mr. K.’s translation.*

“ For when I brought my action, gentlemen, against Aphobus, for the fraudulent account which he had rendered me, I did not lay the damages in one general sum, as a man would do who made a vexatious demand, but specified the several items which I charged him with, stating the sources from which, and the persons from whom, he received them, and also the amount of each. I make no mention, how-

ever, of Milyas, as being acquainted with any of these particulars. The bill commences thus:—‘ Demosthenes makes this complaint against Aphobus : Aphobus is indebted to me for money had and received by him as guardian ; (that is to say,) eighty minas which he received as the marriage portion of my mother, in pursuance of my father's will.’ This is the first item of which I aver myself to be defrauded. Now what is the evidence of the witnesses ? ‘ That they were present before the arbitrator Notharchus, when Aphobus admitted Milyas to have had his freedom given him by the father of Demosthenes.’ Consider for a moment. Do you think you could find any orator, sophist, or conjuror, with such wonderful powers of eloquence, as to be able, from this deposition, to convince a single human being, that his mother's fortune is in the hands of Aphobus ? What, in the name of heaven, could he say ? *You confess Milyas to be a freeman. Well,* (the other would say) *but how does this shew the fund to be in my possession ? You must see it would be no proof at all.*”

These two specimens, taken at random, may shew that Mr. Kennedy has deviated from the original, only so far as he thought it necessary for producing fluent and business-like English ; (and the Greek of Demosthenes is quite in a *business-like* style;) and though petty phrases may be marked, in which he has deviated a little more than was strictly needed for this, it appears to us that no candid critic would complain of them. However, to execute the translation, needs but moderate knowledge, diligence, and judgment, joined with sound scholarship ; qualities not rare among us, though rarely found accompanied with a willingness to undertake the work of translation. A harder task was to produce the illustrative excursions to which we have referred ; many of which contain details, calculated to give the reader fixed and definite ideas of the Greek courts, and to clear up numerous difficulties. Mr. Kennedy's discussion, concerning the mode of settling the amount of damages, was new to us, and seems to deserve attention. He follows Meier (he tells us) against Schömann, in holding that an Attic jury could not fix *any* amount at their own will, as they were too numerous for consultation ; but they were obliged to choose either the plaintiff's or the defendant's estimate. It may be well here to exhibit the titles of his notes :—

1. Athenian Money ; 2. Registration of Citizens ; 3. Property Tax ; 4. The Water Glass ; 5. Outline of the Process in an Action ; 6. Guardian and Ward ; 7. Clubs ; 8. Questioning of the Parties ; 9. Arbitration ; 10. Challenges ; 11. Costs ; 12. Damages ; 13. Disfranchisement ; 14. State Debtors ; 15. Burdensome Offices ; 16. Witnesses ; 17. Oaths ; 18. Marriage ; 19. Execution ; 20. Mortgages ; besides a Preface on the Administration of the law at Athens.

These topics might be dry enough, if treated in a book of antiquities. Their interest, and their power to fix themselves in the memory, are derived chiefly from their connexion with an actual case.

Not that we mean to assert these five speeches to have any *extraordinary* interest; they have, however, enough to keep up the attention, and to impress the imagination. Some, indeed, of the particulars are curious enough, others painful and striking to a novice in the classics. That the father of Demosthenes should do the part of a good husband, by *bequeathing his wife with a dowry* to an intimate friend, is a thought that would not easily occur even to a comedy writer. The language of the young orator, (so *naïve!*) concerning the torture of slaves, gives an affecting view of the limited sphere within which Greek philanthropy acted. He says, p. 83, of Mr. K. :—

“ I offered to deliver to him, to be examined by torture, a young slave who had learned to read and write, who was present when Aphobus made the admission in question. Now I ask, Could there be a fairer opportunity of convicting us of falsehood, than putting my slave to the rack ? Aphobus declined this test,” &c., &c.

We are glad to gather, from a hint which Mr. Kennedy drops, that he may possibly continue his labours, and present us with other orations similarly illustrated. Standing by itself, this small volume could not claim any great importance; but if all the genuine remains of the great orator were worked out on the same plan, and with equal ability, the translation (at the present crisis of classical literature in England) might become a standard model, after which others would be executed. Cambridge, at least, sends forth her scholars, if not in great number, yet steadily; and London, we rejoice to think, is becoming the nucleus of a learned body, which may, before long, force Oxford to acknowledge its superiority and to learn of it. Would that some method of combination could be devised, (such as, in the more exciting departments of *Physical Science*, the British Association finds so useful,) by which those who are at the head of classical learning, might promote communication between students, and plan out,—delegate,—superintend—the works which are needed ! Before long, we trust, this band of scholars, the conductors of the Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, will have established for themselves a name, which would enable all books that have received their stamp to command the literary market. It will then be their place to consider whether they cannot employ this as an important engine for elevating true knowledge in this land, and doing much that our universities have left undone.

We do not mean to utter a premature panegyric, and must

therefore check ourselves; yet our hopes are high, that before long a more profound and extensive study of antiquity will be diffused among educated men, and that this nation will at length begin to learn from the vast stores of experience, new and old, which the gracious providence of God has put within its reach.

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*Art. VII. Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes illustrative of striking passages in History and Poetry: chiefly in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland.* By William Howitt. Second Series. London: Longman & Co. 1842.

WE are not surprised to learn that the former series of this work has been eminently successful. The character of the volume predicted this, and the author has done well to take encouragement from the fact, to cater still further for the instruction and amusement of the public. Mr. Howitt has acted wisely in restricting himself, in the present volume, to a particular portion of the kingdom,—one “rich in scenery and legend, in poetry and manners, in history and historic sites.” Rich as is our native country in beautiful scenery and historical associations, it would have been impossible to select a portion of it more affluent in the elements of deep and permanent interest, than that which he has selected. “Northumberland and Durham—with all their border fame, with their battles and their ballads—are the very strongholds and native ground of English popular poetry and romance. The Douglas and the Percy—Chevy-Chace and Otterburne—are names, which not only stirred the heart of Sir Philip Sidney, but are charmed sounds in the souls of us all, in our youngest and most imaginative years.” Such are the materials with which our author had to work, and the readers of his former volume need not to be assured that he has used them well and skilfully. There is a fresh and healthy tone in Mr. Howitt’s mind which admirably fits him for such an undertaking. He is a hearty lover of natural scenery, inhales its inspiration with all the buoyancy and delight of youth, and sees in its secluded rambles, its softened shades, its luxuriance and its wildness, its valleys and its hills, the materials of his most exquisite enjoyment. It is perfectly refreshing, in these days of city life and artificial manners, to ramble with him amongst some of the many scenes which he here describes, and then to witness the more than boyish pleasure with which he sits down to record, for the amusement of others, what he has seen and felt.

But Mr. Howitt is possessed not only of a keen susceptibility for the beauties of external nature, but is competently versed in the traditional history of his country, and has withal a sound judgment. These qualities taken together, form just the man best fitted for the production of such a volume as that before us. We anticipate much good from the appearance of such works. They will serve to correct the taste of our countrymen, —to infuse a healthy tone into the drudgery of our daily life,—to bring the freshness and vigour and animation of rural England, into the streets and squares of our crowded and smoky cities. We shall be glad, moreover, to find that they detain many of our summer tourists at home. There is scenery in England which, to say the least, should be visited and known before the fatigue and expense of foreign travel are incurred. Much more good would result, both to the intellect and the heart of our people, from an inspection of the beauties with which their own country is rife, than from the hurried glances at foreign scenery, which they obtain during their brief sojourn on the Continent. In the latter case, little more is done than to pick up and retail the common-place phrases of our travelling gentry, which serve only to strengthen national prejudices, and thus retard the development of that wide philanthropy which regards mankind as brethren. In the former case, a healthful and vigorous tone would be infused into our patriotism, which would render it both more enlightened and more beneficial.

The present volume opens with Durham, than which, as Mr. Howitt correctly remarks, "There are few cities in our noble island which are qualified to command a deeper interest in the English heart. It is at once striking to the eye and to the mind. It is boldly and beautifully situated. A cloud of historical associations hovers over it, like a perpetual canopy. Legend, ballad, song, and faithful story of mighty events, surround it. A twilight of antiquity, as it were, seems to linger there." Of all these sources our author has diligently availed himself, with a minuteness which sometimes borders on the tedious, and still more frequently is open to the charge of something like book-making. This is to be regretted, as his materials were sufficiently ample without calling in such questionable aid. The great charm of Durham is found in its historical associations.

"But if Durham be interesting in itself, how much more so is it when we call to mind its wealth of history. The whole place and neighbourhood are thickly sown with the most lively reminiscences. From the days of the Saxons to those of the Revolution, Durham felt no trifling portion of the military tempests that from age to age have swept over this island. Scarcely one of those great transactions that

have agitated the North, but brought Durham into its range. In and around it has, in fact, concentrated itself nearly the whole history of the country ; and we cannot give a true impression of the thoughts and sentiments which necessarily spring up in a visit to Durham, unless we take a sympathizing though a rapid glance at its most prominent events. Its civil and ecclesiastical history are inseparably united ; and in tracing that of its principal prelates, we are thrown upon every great occurrence which has marked its chronicle."—p. 7.

The importance of the city may be traced back to the time of St. Cuthbert, who flourished in the seventh century. The history of this remarkable man is full of the deepest romance ; and though encrusted with many fables, yet sheds a ray of serene light upon one of the darkest and most barbarous periods of our annals. Deeply imbued with the superstition of his times, he possessed redeeming qualities, which yet render his memory illustrious, as it formerly engaged the eulogistic pen of Bede. The following account will interest many of our readers :—

" He began his life, like King David of old, by keeping sheep ; and if the influence of solitary watching and wandering in the moorlands after his flock, while a boy, did not make a poet of him, it so far excited his imagination as to make him a saint. Oswald, the pious King of Northumberland, had embraced Christianity, and in order to convert his people, had invited the holy monk Aidan, from Iona, to plant the cross in his kingdom. Oswald had given Aidan choice of his whole realm in which to erect a monastery ; and Aidan, led possibly by the similarity of wildness and desolation in the scene, and partly by its vicinity to Bamborough, the then capital city, had made choice of the island of Lindisfarne. Aidan had wrought wonders of peace and refinement amongst the turbulent nobles of the north, and had acquired a high fame as a saint. This holy man, the boy-shepherd, Cuthbert, as he tended his sheep on the banks of the Leder, saw in a vision ascending into heaven,—

‘ Hæc inter teneros lectis dum collibus agnos  
Pasceret, ecce vigil nocturnis cernit in hymnis  
Ignea sidereis fulgescere castra maniplis,  
Atque polis sanctam rutilæ per gaudia pompæ  
Ferre animam.’

Bede.

The heavenly spectacle seized on his mind with inextinguishable power. He resolved to devote his life to that holiness which brought such glory in its train. He became a brother of the house of Melrose, where for fourteen years he led a life of the most exemplary sanctity. In the meantime various holy men had lived in the stormy solitude of Lindisfarne, and laboured amongst the rude natives of Northumberland. But the domineering spirit of Rome had now reached it ; and raised fierce contentions for dominion over it. The holy men of Iona, scorning to submit to the Italian hierarchy, had withdrawn to their

ncient sojourn, and after various changes, Cuthbert followed his friend Eata from Melrose to Lindisfarne, where Eata had been appointed abbot. This wild spot, in the midst of a tempestuous sea, was after the very heart of Cuthbert. Here he strengthened himself by continual prayer and meditation ; and from time to time issuing forth on long and arduous rambles through the moorlands and wild mountains of the Northumbrian kingdom, he preached to the more than half-savage population, in glens and fortresses where the sound of the gospel had yet never reached, or where it had been planted, but from the distractions of the church and the barbarous condition of the country, had fallen again into neglect. For these great services, and for his general sanctity, Cuthbert was made prior, and his friend Eata advanced to the dignity of bishop, Lindisfarne being erected into a see. But increase of dignity relaxed not Cuthbert's labours ; on the contrary, he still, at home and abroad, toiled incessantly in the work of reformation. Discipline was maintained in his house ; and the fierce hunters and warriors of the northern woods and dales were taught to lower their spears before the Cross, and become less ferocious in their manners. After fourteen years of these labours, which were crowned with amazing success, St. Cuthbert felt himself drawn to the exercise of a more severe self-discipline, and a more uninterrupted communication with heaven. At a few miles distance, and farther out in the ocean than Holy Isle, lay the desolate islands of Farne. These melancholy islands are rather a group of stern basaltic rocks, for the most part bare of herbage, black, and hard as iron, with a dangerous sea roaring round them, which even now, in stormy weather, renders them inaccessible for days and weeks together. To the largest of these, which is about twelve acres in extent, St. Cuthbert retired. The greater part of this islet was, like the rest, a naked and iron-like rock, with no other inhabitant than thousands of screaming sea-fowls. Here, swept by wild winds, amid the hoarse roar of the waves and the clangour of gulls and puffins, St. Cuthbert prepared to raise himself a habitation. This was only to be done by scraping from the more sheltered hollows of the island, its patches of scanty turf, and with that and such loose stones as lay about, erecting his uncouth walls. Imagine the solitary man from day to day labouring on this alone, with the dreary scene and the hoarse cries we have mentioned around him, and with the feeling that with these were mingled the laughter and howls of demons, with which the savageness of the spot, and the superstition of the period, had plentifully peopled the place. His hut consisted only of two very small rooms ; the windows, or rather inlets for light, and the door also, placed so high that he could see nothing but the heaven above him. This was purposely constructed to check the wandering of his thoughts and desires, and to direct his whole attention to the world on high. There was, however, a larger building erected at the landing-place north of the island, opposite to Bamborough, for the reception of his religious brethren who came to visit him, especially as the weather, changing in a moment, might confine them there for days. While the saint thus cast all his thoughts into eternity, he

compelled himself to feel the constant necessities of time. He drew —his historian tells us—his food from this most adamantine and inhospitable crag. At his command a spring of pure water appeared, gushing from the rock, and which flows still ; at every stroke of his hoe vegetables appeared; and herbage of the richest kind followed his footsteps. Certain it is, that if the holy man contrived to live there without the aid of Bamborough bakers and butchers, he must have possessed powers of the most miraculous kind. At the present day, the winds would snatch away any seed or corn more effectually than the harpies cleared the table of *Æneas* ; potatoes were not then *invented* ; and even a little cabbage-bed would require a good high wall round it to prevent every unlucky pot-herb from being blown into the sea. Be this as it may, here St. Cuthbert spent nine years of his life. After that, through the pressing solicitations of king, nobles, and clergy, he was drawn back for a time to assume the bishopric of Lindisfarne, but soon again withdrew to his beloved oratory in Farne, where, two months afterwards, he died. Great as had been his fame in life, it became twofold after his death. His body was carried to Lindisfarne, and enshrined near the high altar. It was in time discovered to be perfectly incorruptible : wonderful miracles were wrought at his tomb ; but when the Danes began to visit the coast, and to ravage the kingdom, it was found that the relics of St. Cuthbert were not potent enough to restrain *them* ; and in obedience to his commands, delivered on his death-bed, the monks fled for ever from Lindisfarne, bearing his corpse in a stone coffin along with them. Seven stout brethren bore this sacred weight, which, however, needed no carrying where there was water, but floated merrily away, leaving the saintly fugitives nothing to do but to trudge after it and wonder. All the world has been made familiar with the story of St. Cuthbert's floating coffin."—p. 9—13.

We had marked for extract Mr. Howitt's notice of the venerable Bede, a still more illustrious name in English history ; but we must pass on to other matters, simply remarking that the manner of the death of this estimable man was strikingly significant of his character. He was at the time dictating to an amanuensis a translation of the gospel by John. "There is now," said his attendant, "but one sentence wanting," upon which Bede bade him write quickly ; and on being informed that it was completed, feebly ejaculated, "It is now done!" and expired a few minutes afterwards on the floor of his cell.

Mr. Howitt's description of Houghton-le-Spring would have been culpably incomplete, had it not comprised a notice of the life and labours of Bernard Gilpin, the apostle of the North. This excellent man, whose religion was formed on the purest models of inspired history, devoted himself with all the simplicity and ardour of an apostle to the instruction of his benighted and neglected countrymen. His labours were eminently successful,

and his memory has been fondly cherished by many generations. The piety of such a man contrasts most favourably with that of the middle ages. It was at once active and unselfish, clear-sighted and deep-toned, intent on benefiting others, yet earnestly concerned for the advancement of religion in his own heart.

“ He was born in Westmoreland, and educated in Catholicism. At Oxford, at an early age, he publicly disputed against Hooper and the celebrated Peter Martyr, who were not only struck with his learning and ability, but much more with his obvious conscientious honesty; and they prayed earnestly for his conversion. This, from further inquiries, became the case. He was advised by his uncle Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, to go abroad for a year or two, to converse with the most eminent professors of both faiths. But here a difficulty presented itself—the expense. The bishop told him that his living would, in part, supply that; but Gilpin’s conscience could not tolerate the idea of it; his notions of the pastoral care were so strict, that he thought no excuse could justify non-residence for so considerable a time as he intended to be abroad; he therefore resigned his living to a suitable person, and set out. ‘*Father’s soule!*’ exclaimed the good bishop—‘ Gilpin, thou wilt die a beggar.’ But Gilpin respectfully persisted, and Tunstal, with his accustomed mildness, made no further opposition. He spent three years in Holland, Germany, and France; and returned during the period of the Marian persecution. His uncle presented him with the rectory of Easington, and made him archdeacon of Durham; but his conscience would not let him hold them; he resigned them, and accepted the rectory of Houghton, a pastoral charge more consonant to his notions of ministerial duty. This rectory was worth about 400*l.* per annum—a large sum for that day; but it was proportionably laborious, being so extensive as to contain no less than fourteen villages, overcast with the darkness of popish ignorance and superstition. He preached and laboured with the zeal and affection of a primitive apostle; the peopled flocked about him with enthusiasm; and received from him at once temporal and spiritual blessings; and his enemies were as much exasperated. He was pointed out as a proper victim to that monster of all priestly butchery, the ‘Bloody Bonner:’ and was speedily apprehended by the emissaries of that detestable wretch. His friends had not failed in time to warn him of his danger, but he refused to fly. He had even a garment made in which he might go decently to the stake, and used daily to put it on till he was taken into custody. Fortunately the queen died before he reached London; and he returned to his parish amid the joyful acclamations of his delighted people. Here he continued to live and labour in all good works. He established schools, obtaining his masters from Oxford, and when he met a boy upon the road he would make a trial of his capacity by a few questions; and, if he found him to his mind, he sent him to school, and if he there kept up his first promise, afterwards to the university. Many of his scholars became ornaments to the church and nation,—amongst

them Henry Ayrey, provost of Queen's College ; George Carlton, Bishop of Chichester ; and Hugh Broughton.

" His hospitable manner of living was the admiration of the whole country ; and strangers and travellers met with a cheerful reception. Even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, if a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rectory of Houghton. Every Sunday, from Michaelmas to Easter, was a sort of public day with him ; that is, through the worst part of the year, when such comforts were the most needed. During this season he expected to see his parishioners and their families, whom he seated, according to their ranks, at three tables ; and when absent from home, the same establishment was kept up. Lord Burleigh, when Lord Treasurer, unexpectedly visited him on his way into Scotland, but the economy of Mr. Gilpin's house was not easily disconcerted ; and he entertained the statesman and his retinue in such a manner, as made him acknowledge he could hardly have expected more at Lambeth. Lord Burleigh made him great offers of advancement, which he respectfully but firmly declined, feeling persuaded that he was in a far more useful sphere than a bishopric. On looking back from an eminence, after he left Houghton, Burleigh could not help exclaiming—' There is the enjoyment of life, indeed ! Who can blame that man for not accepting a bishopric ? What doth he want to make him greater, happier, or more useful to mankind ?'—p. 81—83.

" In one of his journeys near the borders of Wales, a ragged lad running by his horse's side and begging, Gilpin, who was struck with the lad's intelligent look, fell into conversation with him, and being as much pleased with his clear, sharp answers, sought out his parents, and with their consent took him home with him, educated him in his school, and afterwards sent him to Queen's College, Oxford. In time, this Hugh Broughton became a very learned man, maintained a theological controversy with the celebrated Beza, and was acknowledged to be the best Hebrew scholar of his time, and skilled in all the learning and traditions of the Rabins. Great, however, as was his erudition, his heart was base and ungrateful. He joined himself to the enemies and enviers of the good man who had raised him from rags to honour and comfort. The worthy uncle of Barnard Gilpin, Tunstal, had now long been banished by the Reformation, from the see of Durham ; James Pilkington, a Protestant bishop, had succeeded him, and had been a kind and steady friend of Gilpin ; but now came Richard Barnes, the companion of Broughton, and chancellor of Durham, whose mind was speedily poisoned against him by his relative and the ungrateful Broughton. Barnes suspended him from all his ecclesiastical offices, and summoned him to meet him and the rest of the clergy in the church at Chester-le-Street. This is the relation of what followed by George Carleton :—

" ' Master Gilpin,' said Bishop Barnes, ' I must have you preach to-day ! ' Gilpin pleaded that he was not provided with a sermon,—and his suspension. ' But I can free you,' saith the bishop, ' from

that suspension, and now do free you ; and well know that you are never unprovided, for you have now gotten such a habite of preaching, that you are able to performe it even upon the sodaine.' Master Gilpin remained immovable, answering, 'that God was not so to be tempted ; and that it was well with him if he were able to performe anything in this kinde upon mature deliberation.' 'Well, then,' replied the bishop, 'I commande you, upon your canonicall obedience, to goe up into the pulpit.' Master Gilpin, delaying the time yet a little while, answered—' Well, sir, seeing it can be no otherwise, your lordshipe's will be done ;' and, after a little pause, began his sermon. He observed his enemies taking notes of all he spoke ; yet he proceeded without fear or hesitation ; and when his discourse gradually led him to the reprehension of vice, he boldly and openly reproved the enormities which the bishop permitted in the diocese. 'To you, Reverend Father, my speech must be directed. God hath exalted you to bee bishop of this diocese, and God requireth an account of your government thereof. Beholde, I bring these things to your knowledge this day. Say not those crimes have been committed without your knowledge ; for whatever either yourself shall doe in person, or suffer to be done by others, is wholly your owne. Therefore, in the presence of God, of angels, and of men, I pronounce you to be the author of all these evills ; yea, and in that strict day of general account, I shall be a witnesse against you, that all these things have come to your knowledge by my meanes ; and all these men shall bear witnesse thereof, who have heard mee speaking unto you this day.' A murmur ran through the assembly. Gilpin's enemies trusted that his ruin was sealed ; his friends trembled ; and when he descended from the pulpit, crowded about him in tears. ' You have put a sword into your enemies' hands to slay you with ! If the bishop were before offended without a cause, what may you expect now ? ' God,' answered Gilpin, ' overruleth all. So that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, God's will be done concerning me.'

" The clergy dined with the bishop, and Gilpin's friends and enemies silently waited the event. Gilpin came to take his leave of the bishop, and to return homewards. ' It shall not be so,' answered the bishop, ' for I will bring you to your house.' And when they were now come to Master Gilpin's parsonage, and walked within into the parlour, the bishop, on a sudden, caught Mr. Gilpin by the hand. ' Father Gilpin,' said he, ' I do acknowledge you are fitter to be Bishop of Durham than myself to be parson of this church of yours. I ask forgivenesse for errors past ; forgive me, father. I knowe you have hatched some chickens that now seeke to pecke out your eyes, but so long as I shall live Bishop of Durham, be secure—no one shall hurt you.' All good men rejoiced, and Gilpin reaped in peace and security the fruit of a pious life in all plentifull manner."—pp. 95—97.

Passing by other places, we come to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where a strange mixture of ancient and modern objects strikes the eye. The history of the town is equally anomalous. At present it is the centre of a great coal district, and sends forth its inexhaus-

tible supplies to every quarter of the globe. In 1837, there were shipped from this port no less than 2,856,342 tons, besides which, upwards of one million was shipped from Sunderland, and a similar quantity from Stockton. The ancient glory of Newcastle was of a far different order, as the following extract from our author will shew :—

“ Newcastle, as might be expected from its situation, has stood in the centre of many of the martial tempests that for ages ravaged this noble island; and especially those to which it was exposed from the hostility between England and Scotland. To say nothing of the various contests of the Romans, Britons, Danes, and Normans, many a fierce tempest of wars has raged round its walls,—from the Scotch against the English, or the English against one another; from one claimant of the crown against another; and even from the subjects against their monarch. Amongst these events, some of the most curious are those which occurred in the time of the Edwards. Besides warlike transactions, Newcastle witnessed in those earlier ages many a festive scene, when monarchs and their queens here

‘ In weeds of peace bright triumphs held.’

“ Here David I. of Scotland, in the reign of Stephen, made himself master—obliged the people to swear allegiance to the Empress Maude, and kept his head-quarters in the town, till a truce was entered into with Stephen. Here John of England and William the Lion of Scotland had a conference in the year 1209. Here again Alexander of Scotland and his queen came in 1235-6, and had a conference with the King of England, on a demand made by the Scotch, for the restitution of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Here Baliol, having sworn fealty to Edward I. at Norham, on Christmas-day, did homage to Edward in the hall of the castle; and in four years after, the king had to march back through Newcastle on his way to Scotland, to chastise the Scots for endeavouring to cast off their humiliating yoke. In 1299, William Wallace made one of his inroads into England, and wasted Northumberland as far as the walls of Newcastle, on which he made many vehement attacks, but was as often repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants. Here, in 1312, the weak Edward II. was nearly surprised with his favourite Gaveston, who was afterwards seized and beheaded. Edward’s unhappy queen was meantime staying at Tynemouth, whither the Earl of Lancaster, the prisoner of the favourite, sent her a message of condolence. Five years afterwards, Edward here suffered a worse disgrace, in having to conclude a truce with the Scots, who had wrested from him all that his father had won in their country with much iron tyranny and bloodshed. The year after, a vain attempt at a permanent peace was made here—two nuncios of the Pope, and two envoys from Philip of France, besides the English and Scotch commissioners, being present. In 1322, Edward was again here, on his way to perpetrate one more disastrous campaign in an attempt to wrest Norham Castle from Robert Bruce. Various similar affairs took place here during the contests with the Edwards for Scotland; amongst which

Edward Baliol once more did homage for the crown to Edward III., who kept his Whitsuntide here, as his father John Baliol had done to Edward I. Two circumstances more particularly worthy of notice occurred in the wars of these times here. In 1342, David Bruce, King of Scotland, having committed horrid ravages on his march through Northumberland, came before Newcastle with a powerful army, amounting in numbers, according to some authors, to 60,000 foot and 3000 horse. John Lord Neville, who commanded the castle, made a sally with 200 chosen lancemen, and entering the Scotch camp, surprised the Earl of Murray, one of the chiefs in command, in bed, and dragging him forth, returned to the castle with their prisoner, and much booty, without the loss of a man. The Scots enraged, made a fierce attack on the town, but were repulsed with great slaughter. David raised the siege, and marched to Durham, committing great atrocities by the way, but was, at the battle of Neville's Cross, defeated and taken prisoner, with the loss of from 15,000 to 20,000 men and many of his nobles.

“ Froissart mentions a gallant and characteristic contest which took place here in Richard II.’s time, between the Douglas and Hotspur. The Scots having invaded England, and being come into the bishopric of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland sent his two sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph, to Newcastle, to which place the county were appointed to assemble; whereupon ensued several light skirmishes betwixt the English and Scots, and many proper feats of arms done. Among others, there fought, hand to hand, the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy; and by force of arms, the Earl won Sir Henry’s pennon. Whereupon Sir Henry and all the English were sore displeased; the Earl saying to him, ‘Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and shall set it on high on my castle of Alquest, that it may be seen afar off;’ which so provoked the Percys, that after divers bold adventures against the Scotch forces, at length they obtained the victory, and slew the Earl James Douglas. But Sir Ralph Percy was therein wounded and taken prisoner by a Scotch knight. And after this, in another encounter, this Sir Henry Percy, fighting valiantly with the *Lord Mountcumber*, a stout knight of Scotland, was by him taken prisoner. These latter events occurred at the celebrated battle of Otterburn, whither Hotspur had pursued the Scots. Froissart’s Lord Mountcumber was Sir John Montgomery.

“ But in no period of our history did Newcastle play a more conspicuous part, than in the wars of King Charles and the Parliament. In 1642 it was beleaguered by the Scotch army, under old Lesley, who dividing his forces, assailed it on all sides with the utmost fury. The Marquess of Newcastle, who was governor for the king, however, stoutly and successfully maintained it against him; though he broke down and gained some of the outworks. But in the next year, the Scots, under General Leven, took it by storm. Sir John Marley, then mayor, retired to the castle with about five hundred men, which he held till terms of capitulation were obtained. On the 6th of May, 1646, the unfortunate monarch having thrown himself under the protection of the

Scotch army, was conducted hither, where, perceiving the base treachery of his countrymen, he attempted to escape out of their hands. There is a popular tradition, says Brand, that the king attempted his escape from the house where he was lodged, by the passage of Latburn, and that he had got down as far as where the grate at present is, in the middle of the Side, when he was apprehended. A ship was to have been in readiness to carry him abroad, but false friends are said to have been in the secret, and the plot was divulged. He was in disguise when taken. The sequel is well known. The greedy Scots, lest so rich a prize *should* escape out of their hands, sold him to the English for 200,000*l.*; he was handed over to commissioners appointed to receive him, and conducted from Newcastle to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire. In the succeeding struggles, Newcastle was garrisoned for the Parliament; and Cromwell, Sir Arthur Hastewood, Colonel Fenwick, Lord Fairfax, and such names, are those that flourished in Newcastle, as guests or governors."—pp. 281—286.

We must not fail to introduce our readers to the coal-pits of the district. These constitute its distinctive feature, and are naturally objects of great curiosity to every stranger. Having obtained permission from a Viewer, the visitor has to substitute a flannel dress, with strong boots and an old hat, for his more respectable attire. Thus apparelled, he places his leg into the hoop, and then descends the circular shaft with amazing rapidity. Mr. Howitt shall describe what follows:—

"If you descend by the shaft, you come to the first seam, or stratum, where the coal has been got, perhaps at the depth of two hundred yards. Here you find the stables for the horses, the steam-engine for raising the coals from the lower seam, and the ventilating furnace by which the impure vapours are drawn off. Here the process has to be repeated. You must be let down the second shaft, which, as it is in those regions of subterraneous darkness, and itself as dark as death, is tenfold terrific. You will probably have yet to descend to a third depth before you reach the scene of action, where, perhaps, three hundred yards from the surface, you will find a multitude of human beings busy hewing out the coals, and conveying them on little wagons to the shaft up which they have to ascend. Here you may have to traverse a great region of darkness, till you reach the face of the coal where the men are at work. There, with a candle fixed by a bit of clay to the face of the coal, each man is pursuing his labour. He is seated cross-legged on the floor, undermining, with his sharp pick, a certain portion of the coal as far as he can. He then cuts this portion off from the rest down the front, and, driving in wedges at the top, brings it to his feet. It is then filled into the corves, or baskets, and conveyed away on little railways, by ponies, or by men, or even by women, on their backs, to the shaft.

"In this process, the collier always takes care to leave behind him, in the excavated space, strong pillars of coal, or the roof would fall in and crush him on the spot. These pillars are removed only when the main

coal is all got, and the owner does not care if the upper mass then fall in. There is an overman, whose office it is to go through the pit to examine the places which the men have worked, to measure their work, and to see that the pit is free from inflammable vapour. There is also a deputy-overman, to superintend the pillars of coal that are left, and to set up props, or build walls, where the roof is loose and threatens to fall. The business of the person called an onsetter, is to hang the corves, usually baskets made of hazel rods, upon the rope to be drawn up the shaft.

“ Thus, engaged in these mouldewarp operations deep in the earth, you will find men, boys, horses, and engines, all busy as bees, and the human creatures merry, as if daylight did not make any part of their rejoicings. They have, notwithstanding, tremendous enemies to contend with here in the bowels of the earth. There is a thing called a *creep*, or a sit, because it is of an insidious and creeping nature, and sits down in such a manner that it lets nobody that it catches ever get up again. That is, when the pillars of coal are left too small, so that they fail and yield under the pressure of the superior strata ; or when the pavement of the coal is so soft as to permit the pillars to sink into it, which sometimes happens from the great weight that lies upon them ; in either case the solid stratum above the coal falls and crushes the pillars to pieces, and closes up a great extent of the working, or probably the whole colliery—making prisoners of all within, and crushing all that happen to be beneath.

“ Besides these, are the *choke-damp*, as they call the carbonic acid gas, which renders those who breathe it insensible, and soon destroys them ; and the *fire-damp*, or carburetted hydrogen gas, which, on a light being introduced, explodes, and scorches up scores of the wretched workmen at a time, like so many singed flies. The explosions of this gas, which is gradually generated and accumulated in the old workings, have been too frequent and too fatal to need any particular mention of them. They have sometimes destroyed upwards of a hundred persons at once, and produced all the effects of a volcano and an earthquake. Such was one that occurred in 1812, at the Felling Colliery, near Jarrow, at two pits at once, called the William Pit and the John Pit. It took place about half-past eleven on a morning in May, and the neighbouring villages were startled with the explosion. The subterranean fire broke out with two heavy discharges from the John pit, which were almost instantly followed by one from the William pit. A slight shock as from an earthquake was felt for half a mile round the workings ; and the noise of the explosion, though dull, was heard for three or four miles distance, somewhat resembling an unsteady fire of infantry. Immense quantities of dust and small coal rose with these blasts into the air, in the form of an inverted cone. The heaviest part of the matter fell near the pit ; but the dust, borne away by a strong west wind, fell in a continual shower from the pit to the distance of a mile and a half. In the village of Heworth, it caused a darkness like early twilight, and covered the roads so thickly that footsteps were strongly imprinted in it. Pieces of burning coal, driven off the solid stratum of the mine, were also blown up one of the shafts. Out of one

hundred and twenty-one persons at work in the pit, only twenty-nine were saved.

"Near Walls-End, there has for years been a pit on fire, probably ignited by similar means. A pipe is now inserted into the shaft, and the gas keeps burning night and day, within view of the railroad between Newcastle and North Shields."—pp. 297—300.

We must close our extracts with a brief passage from our author's *Stroll along the Borders*. It relates to a personage and a region whose image is deeply impressed on the hearts of many readers:—

"By the directions of the men at the Carter-gate, I steered my way over the wide moorlands to the left, in order to make a shorter cut to the toll-bar at the head of Liddesdale, which has the singular name of the Note-of-the-Gate. The country people being at work on the moors, cutting and piling their peats for fuel, I was enabled pretty well to proceed in the right direction. I followed a stream which I learned was the Ravenburn, and kept in view a hill called the Dodhead. Yet I soon found it one of the most solitary and trackless regions I ever was in. The curlews and pewits rose and soared round me in numbers, accompanying me the whole way with their melancholy cries; and I did not wonder at the dislike which the Covenanters had to these birds, whose plaintive clamours often revealed their places of meeting to the soldiers, and for which reason the southern shepherds, descendants of the Covenanters, are said still to break their eggs wherever they find them. A long wade through deep heather,—a single shepherd going his round barefoot, and a woman or two looking out from a lonely hut, as I passed, where, perhaps, no stranger is seen twice in a life,—and I found myself on—Dandie Dinmont's farm!"

"Yes! I was now at the head of Liddesdale, once the grand retreat of Border thieves—the land of the Armstrongs and Elliotts—and on the very ground which supplied Scott with the prototype of one of the most genuine rough diamonds of humanity which his own or any works have presented to public admiration. The farm-house lies on the Jedburgh road, not far from the Note-of-the-Gate. It is called Hendley Farm. James Davison was the hearty fellow's name, whose character was so well known, and so exactly touched off by Scott, that everybody immediately recognised it, and he bore the name as if it were really his own. He afterwards went to live at Lenderne, in Ettrick Forest, where he died. His son, a weakly young man and a cripple, was educated for the medical profession, but went to Australia, and died there. It was believed or asserted that another person was originally intended for Dandie Dinmont by Scott; but the character so exactly fitted James Davison, that it was at once and by everybody applied, and much to the annoyance of his family, who it seems had not the discernment to perceive at once the high honour of this distinction. There could be no mistake about the matter; for the honest, generous heart—the rough and ready hospitality—the broad racy humour—the otter-hunting and fishing—and the pepper and mustard dogs, were not likely to be all found together in the possession of many men at once.

But Dandie and his family, his Peppers and his Mustards, are all vanished, not only from this farm, now occupied by a Mr. Pringle, but from the North; and as we are not likely to meet with such men every day in our rambles, it was a satisfaction to me even to see the spot where such a noble specimen of rustic nature had lived; to walk over his farm, and follow for some distance the windings of his rocky and rapid stream, where his little Peppers and Mustards had kept a sharp look out for the lurking otter.

“ But strongly-marked and original characters are by no means extinct in the ancient precincts of Liddesdale, as we shall see. At the Note-of-the-Gate, where I stopped some time for a rest, the old man and woman were a right hearty old couple. When they heard over what a moorland I had steered my course, they were astonished that I had ever found the way; and said that I must be dreadfully tired and hungry. They would, therefore, cook me a rasher of bacon, and soon produced good white bread, and equally good beer. But it was their conversation that was the most refreshing. They were so keenly curious of news, and so humorous in their observations on it. When I said I came from London—‘ Eh! London, that’s a gran’ place! Ye’re wise folk at London,’ said the old man. ‘ How so?’ I asked. ‘ Why, ye ha’ just noo fetched a callant out o’ a furrin country to be the queen’s husband, and gein him thritty thousand pounds a-year for it; and there’s many a braw chiel here would ha’ takken the job for noothing, and done it weel too. It was a great shame,’ he added, ‘ that a woman should rule all the men in England, and find none of them good enough for her into the bargain.’

“ The old man was much more enthusiastic in his praises of Sir Walter Scott, and other literary men of that quarter, than he appeared to be of royalty. He said, Sir Walter and Jamie Hogg, too, were ‘ rare hawsns’—rare hands,—and that some young men of that neighbourhood, being in places which they could not leave without a substitute, lately paid others to do their work for them while they went to see Abbotsford.”—pp. 544—547.

The wood-cuts with which the volume is illustrated, are executed with great spirit and accuracy, and the general getting-up of the work is highly creditable to all parties. The exception at which we have hinted is well worthy of Mr. Howitt’s notice, and we shall be glad to find that he avoids the fault in the continuation of his labours. If he will look more at nature and less at books, his volumes may be less bulky, but their value will not be diminished. We are not to be understood as objecting to all the antiquarian and historical lore which he has introduced. Much of it is not only interesting, but pertinent to his design, and could not be omitted without loss; but the pruning-knife may be advantageously employed, and we commend its use to Mr. Howitt, from whom we part with unfeigned respect, and with hearty thanks for the pleasure and information which his volume has imparted.

Art. VIII.\* 1. *Picture of Slavery, as it is in the French Colonies.* By an Old Planter. Paris. 8vo. 1835.

2. *Haiti; or, Exact Accounts of the Abolition of Slavery, and its results in St. Domingo and Guadeloupe, with details upon the present condition of Haiti and its Inhabitants.* Paris. 8vo. 1835.

3. *Report of the Examination of Delegates from the French Colonies, before a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, 10th July, 1839.* Paris.

4. *Report of a Committee upon M. de Tracy's Plan respecting the Slaves in the Colonies, made by M. de Tocqueville to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23rd July, 1839.*

5. *Prize-Essay on Means to Destroy the Prejudices of the Whites against the Colour of Africans and People of Mixed Races.* By S. Listant, of Haiti. Paris. 8vo. 1842.

THE exertions of the anti-slavery party in France, during the last ten years, have not only failed to correspond with the general improvement of public feeling in Europe, on the claims of the coloured races, but have also fallen far short of what was accomplished in the early days of the first revolution in favour of those races. The Convention in 1792, as M. Listant, the author of one of the works before us, says, liberated at once all the slaves in the French colonies, in one of those moments of just enthusiasm which did so much honour to the men of that day. That so noble an act should have miscarried, and its failure have drawn after it the great calamities which long afflicted St. Domingo, and ultimately deprived France of that fine colony, arose from causes not difficult to be enumerated, and which are still in considerable operation. Those causes utterly defeated all the great enterprises which Frenchmen carried on, with wonderful perseverance, for more than a century, in the fine

\* *Tableau de l'Esclavage tel qu'il existe dans les Colonies Françaises.* Par un Ancien Colon. Paris. 8vo. 1835.

*Haiti, ou Renseignements Authentiques au l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, et ses resultats à Saint Domingue et à la Guadeloupe, avec des details sur l'état actuel d'Haiti, et des Noirs emancipés qui forment sa Population.* Traduit de l'Anglais. Paris. 8vo. 1835.

*Procès Verbal de la Séance du 10 Juillet, 1839, de la Commission chargée de examiner la Proposition du M. de Tracy, relatif à l'Abolition de l'Esclavage. Déclarations de M. M. les Délégués des Colonies.* Paris. 8vo. 1839.

*Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner la Proposition de M. de Tracy, relatif aux Esclaves des Colonies, par M. A. de Tocqueville, Député da la Manche, Chambre des Députés.* Séance du 23 Juillet, 1839.

*Essai sur les moyens d'extirper les Préjugés des Blanches contre la Couleur des Africains et des Sang-mêles.* Ouvrage couronné par la Société Française pour l'Abolition de l'Esclavage, 1 Juillet, 1840. Paris. 8vo. 1842.

island of Madagascar ; and since 1830, they have also led to enormous sacrifices of life and treasure, and to the grossest violations of humanity in Algiers. They consist of principles of policy, and of feelings on the part of the French towards people of colour, well worth analyzing at a moment when better prospects on this head seem to be opening to that powerful nation. It is of much importance, not only that the relief of the 300,000 slaves in the French colonies should be speedily settled ; but still more that sound opinions, upon all that concerns the whole coloured race, should prevail in a country which possesses so vast an influence as France.

Of the works whose titles are prefixed to this article, that of M. Listant furnishes the best explanation of the case ; we therefore draw largely from it, adding a few corroboratory statements from the official documents, and from the first two works, which, although published in the French language, were the productions of a distinguished English advocate of the cause, the late *Zachary Macauley*.

M. Listant is a young Haitian, not long called to the French bar ; and favourably known here, during a continued residence in England and Ireland, since the anti-slavery convention, of which he was a member, was held. His essay obtained a prize given by the good Abbé Gregoire, on the question how to abolish the prejudices of white men against black men.

Of this subject he takes the largest view, and vindicates his race from every imputation to which our prejudices expose them, detecting those prejudices, in modern French legislations, with singular success.

After contending that Ethiopia enjoyed a high degree of civilization at a remote period—a topic into which we cannot now enter—M. Listant traces the negro slave-trade from early times to its *total extinction* in the fourteenth century—a point upon which his authorities would have been acceptable. The condition of the negro slave of antiquity he maintains to have been rather superior than otherwise to that of the white slave—*all* quarters of the globe contributing, equally with Africa, to supply the general market with whites as well as blacks, and the prejudice of colour being entirely unknown. A century later (in 1442) a new trade in negroes arose in Spain and Portugal ; but millions of *white* men were still slaves also in Europe ; and the contumely to which these negro slaves were exposed, was only that which the white serfs shared. The swarthy hue of the skin so little affected the blacks of this period, that they ordinarily filled judicial and other offices even in Spain. Whites were also often reduced to slavery in the colonies, as well as blacks ; and blacks there long enjoyed all the advantages of social life and equal in-

tercourse with the whites. This extended to the important condition of marriage ; and M. Listant fixes the continuance of this state of things from the beginning of the fifteenth century until towards the end of the seventeenth. He cites a law of Martinique, of 1666, inflicting the same severe penalties on the *white* servants as on black slaves ; and he justly remarks that this was merely carrying to the West Indies the contempt in which *vilains* and *serfs* were held in France. One of the first laws by which it was sought to depress the blacks, was the code of 1685. This condemned the child of a female slave by a free man to slavery. Good old custom, however, prevailed for some time against the bad new law, and all natural coloured children of white fathers continued to be free. They also easily acquired settlements on the wild lands of the colonies. The females among them frequently married European emigrants, and their coloured children often went to France for education. There they stood on an equality with other French subjects ; and negro slaves were also emancipated, by force of law, on landing upon the soil of France, nor did their return to the colonies compromise their freedom. The *code noir* of 1685, already quoted, confirmed some of the advantages then enjoyed by the coloured classes, although by this law some most atrocious disabilities were, for the first time, inflicted upon them. For instance, by its special provisions no slaves could be witnesses or parties in a court of justice, and the acquiring of any small private property was absolutely forbidden. But this code prohibited also the separate sale of husbands, wives, and children ; and it provided expressly for the marriage and support of slaves, and contained provisions to encourage their emancipation. Subsequently, however, these humane enactments were either repealed, or became obsolete, and the severe parts of the law were gradually carried to the extreme of cruelty. *But, until the year 1700, no trace whatever can be found of the white man's prejudice against the people of colour.*

This is the most remarkable point established by M. Listant, and, connected with his powerful argument in defence of the capacity of the negro race, it opens most important views in their favour. His statements, therefore, on both heads, deserve close attention, and we think they will be admitted to be satisfactory.

He bases his statements upon the character of the original French colonists of St. Domingo, and upon that of the subsequent additions of that population. Up to 1665, four hundred French settled in that island, and it increased to fifteen hundred in 1669. These were, for the most part, the buccaneers and other adventurers who played so remarkable a part in all the European settlements in the West Indies during the seventeenth

century. Their moral habits were not such as to lead them to make nice distinctions on any social question; and whilst they *intermarried*, without scruple, with women of colour, the white females who then emigrated from France were not calculated to supplant the daughters of the more wealthy negroes in the estimation of the white men. At this period, the French noblesse had no connexion with the colonies; and they who did emigrate, having escaped from the feudal tyranny of Europe, had not yet a motive for transferring it to the colonies in their own favour. Speedily, however, the French government saw, in their rising prosperity, a source of national profit, and large numbers of the poorer nobility sought to improve their fortunes in the West Indies. These men usually contemplated returning to France rich; and, unwilling to contract alliances with the French women of the colonies, who would embarrass them by claiming their husbands at home, they unscrupulously married the coloured women of fortune, from whom they could afterwards more easily escape. The old white colonists soon obtained a compensation, in buying patents of nobility for their own families, and ultimately excluded their formidable *rivals*, the coloured women, by setting the stamp of social inferiority upon the whole coloured class. They were enabled to effect this by a new fact. As feudalism waned in Europe, the transportation of *servile* emigrants diminished also, and at last the *only slaves* were the blacks and their offspring, more or less coloured. Hence it became easier to attach to the *free* coloured people the degradation once shared by white slaves, but now confined to blacks. From this degradation proceeded the prejudice of colour of modern times.

M. Listant has not adduced the names and facts which it would be satisfactory to have before us in support of these views, and which we trust he will have an opportunity of presenting to the world in a larger work; but his proofs are abundant and clear as to the consequences of the separation which now arose between the whites and the free blacks. The former completely succeeded in establishing their pretensions by the influence of their friends in France; and the ministers of the crown lent themselves remorselessly to as cruel a series of oppressions, supported by positive laws, as can perhaps be found in any code. At the same time, some of these laws are so obviously absurd, that it is difficult to conceive the thorough perversion of intellect that must have prevailed before such legislation could be admitted in any country.

The first document of this disgraceful character, produced by M. Listant, is dated the 26th December, 1703. It expressly forbids the approval of the petition of certain planters to be made nobles, *because they have married women of colour*; and the king's

letter adds, that these petitions shall not even be heard. An edict of 1724, prohibited all marriages between whites and blacks of either sex; a prohibition which was long resisted by the feelings of nature previously sanctioned by old custom. Another series of laws, from 1690 to 1758, changed the small *fine* imposed on *all* free people who should harbour runaway slaves, into the cruel penalty of such harbourers being themselves reduced to slavery, if they were people of colour. Still they preserved some consideration, and continued to enjoy, among other things, the right to be officers of the colonial militia, of which, however, they were deprived by an order sent from Paris, on the 7th December, 1733. It was in these words: "The king directs that no colonist of mixed blood shall hold any post in the courts of justice, or be an officer of militia; nor shall any white who marries a woman of colour be capable of any public employment, civil or military." In 1761, a law enjoined that the precise degree of colour should be specified in all legal deeds executed by people of colour—a distinction carefully kept up till 1830. So far was this insane legislation pushed, says M. Listant, that an ordinance of 17th April, 1762, actually prohibited bakers selling bread to people of colour in a famine. Slaves were of course in a worse condition, of which a sufficiently absurd example was a law which imposed flogging on one who should presume to sell coffee even by his owner's orders; whilst for breach of the orders, he was liable to be flogged by his master; and the ordinary punishments were most arbitrary and most severe.

A system was speedily set up to justify these atrocities. "Nature," says an ordinance of the 30th of June, 1762, "having established *three* classes—viz., whites, blacks, and the mixed race—these distinctions must be preserved in the militia, in the enrolment of the regiments, which shall always be composed of the whites alone, the blacks alone, and of the mixed race alone;" and white officers only served in the last two. Again, in 1763, measures were ordered by the minister to be taken to expel all free negroes *from France*; their return to the colonies, instructed and enlightened, being held to be dangerous. So in 1764, people of colour were forbidden to practise any branch of medicine. In 1767, when some people of colour asked for patents to declare them of the Indian origin, in order to be entitled to certain privileges enjoyed by Indians, the minister refused, declaring—"that this would tend to destroy the distinction nature had set between blacks and whites; and that the political prejudice ought to be kept up, to let the blacks and their descendants know their proper places. Good order," it was added, "requires that nothing be done to raise the blacks from their

low condition ; and the king will have no favour shewn to marriages of whites with coloured women, his majesty being resolved to maintain the prejudice which prevents the coloured race ever sharing the privileges of the whites." Thus in 1778, an order in council prohibited the marriage of Frenchmen with women of colour, under the penalty of transportation to the colonies. The spirit of these laws extended to the minutest matters ; and coloured people could only give their children names derived from an African origin, or from some trade, or from an equally degrading circumstance ; and whilst they were forbidden to follow the most profitable trades, the criminal laws were most severe towards them, and most indulgent to the whites. We refer to M. Listant, and to other writers for details of unquestionable authenticity, to establish the truth of these statements.

At length the cup was full to overflowing ; and the Convention abolished slavery throughout the French colonies ; introducing everywhere equality, as well as freedom. We pass by the frightful scenes which followed in St. Domingo, ending with the present independence of Haiti ; observing only, that under Napoleon, and down to a late period under the Bourbons, the French never ceased to aim at recovering the island by force of arms, and by the sacrifice of every principle of justice.

In the meantime, in the other colonies, all the French governments pursued the old course. In 1809, when, says M. Listant, men of colour were serving with the highest distinction, in the armies of France, throughout the Continent, an ordinance was issued by Napoleon, with this preamble—"The free people of colour should know that they are emancipated men, or the descendants of emancipated men ; and however long ago their African origin may be dated, nothing can render them equal to the whites—nothing excuse them for forgetting the respect they owe the whites." At this time, too, a singular mode was employed to impoverish and degrade the people of colour. They were disqualified by law from taking bequests from the whites ; but they were allowed to leave the latter legacies. "This restoration of riches to their source," says the law, almost in derision, "is but a means considerably furnished to these people of discharging a debt of gratitude to their benefactors!"

In 1827, another colonial law comprised in principle the most aggravated enactments of the preceding century, declaring, that—"Nature's distinctions cannot be abolished ; and that fatal experience proved how indispensable it was to the prosperity of the colonies to keep up the separation of the *three* classes of men from each other. To attempt a change was to countenance theories springing from *revolutionary* errors."

The Bourbons, accordingly, introduced no material improve-

ment in the condition of the slaves; and the new dynasty of the last eleven years has left things in the West Indies as they were found in 1830. Excessively severe punishments compel them to perform severe tasks exclusively for the gain of their owners; and no suitable efforts are made by education to fit them for future freedom, which, nevertheless, all confess they must one day gain either by positive law, or through revolutionary explosions.

But the spirit of the age is somewhat more favourable to the free blacks and free people of colour. In spite of every injustice, they are increasing in number, and improving in wealth, character, and intelligence. In spite, too, of great efforts by the worst disposed of the whites, to sow dissensions between the free blacks and the free people of colour, these two classes happily persevere in maintaining the most cordial union. Another most hopeful circumstance for them all is the strongly improved disposition of the *young* white colonists towards the free blacks and the slaves, and to all people of colour. The intercourse of these young colonists with Europe is more frequent than ever; and they generally return to their estates well imbued with the more humane principles of the age.

So far we have closely followed M. Listant's able narrative. The four other works before us strongly confirm his statements, but they all fall short of the originality of his historical views. Mr. Zachary Macaulay's two pamphlets, published during his last residence in Paris, do much honour to the zeal and sagacity of that eminent friend of the negro, and they cannot fail to have contributed materially to advance the good feeling understood to prevail at present among a few influential individuals in France. The two parliamentary documents, of which the titles are also prefixed, proceeded from those individuals; and they shew at once the way in which the abolition of slavery will probably be effected in the French colonies, and the state of opinion among the French colonists as to the coloured races. The Report of the Committee of 1839 was from the pen of M. de Tocqueville. It settles the question of early abolition as a measure of which *all* parties admit the necessity; and it abandons the English system of apprenticeship as a preliminary step, but proposes a new point of extreme importance. Agreeing to the principles of *indemnifying* the owners, and to the burden of the indemnity being partially borne by France herself, this Report quietly recommends, that whilst the state is to advance the money meant to be paid to the masters, the whole must be repaid out of the *wages of the emancipated slaves*. This unjust proposal of an enormous tax is indeed softened by an excellent scheme of preparation of the slaves for their new character of free men, by

education, and a wise plan of rural police ; but it seems to be calculated to meet with great difficulties in the working, as well as to be exceedingly oppressive.

Hopes of an early abolition of slavery in the French colonies must be faint, when the best of the advocates of the measure have so little confidence in the public sympathy that they will not venture to propose the advance of money by the state to indemnify the owners, without securing the repayment of the *loan* out of the free labour of the emancipated slaves. The fact must be acknowledged. France has still to learn the lesson of justice towards coloured people ; and the fearful wrongs inflicted by her armies in Algiers, under our own eyes and with our shameful acquiescence, during the last ten years, are only another form of the oppression practised in her slave colonies. The love of domination is the master passion which, after extinguishing the excellent spirit of the first revolution on this head, prevails throughout France, and with great ignorance of the subject, it will ensure the failure of what is now so needful to prevent violences in the French colonies.

A proof, however, of the progress of opinion on this subject, is afforded by one of the official writers before us. In France, there is established a sort of colonial representation in the persons of white planters. Five gentlemen of this body were examined, in 1839, by a royal commission, on some special points directly occurring upon the question of abolishing slavery ; they differ widely in opinion, but among their testimonies we find the following, which, coming from French slave-owners, will be seen to be of great weight : "The West Indian blacks are highly intelligent ; they have made great progress in civilization ; they are easily governed ; and they readily form family ties." Some of these good characteristics were admitted to be shared by the African-born negroes ; and the deputy from Martinique, speaking of the people whom he knew personally—namely, the natives of West Africa, declared them to be capable of a relative degree of civilization, although he made the discovery as to tribes of which he himself knew nothing—namely, the natives of the South, that they can hardly speak an articulate language. "Le negre de la côte occidentale, élément principal de la population noire des Antilles, est susceptible d'une civilization relative ; mais *on sait* qu'il y a des populations dans le midi du continent Africain, qui ont à peine *une langue articulée*."—Procès verbal de la Séance du 10 Juillet, 1839, p. 71.

It wanted but a grave reference to the same judgment by Pliny the elder, upon some African tribes, to complete the absurdity of this statement. The witness spoke well of the Africans whom he knew personally ; and we are all enough acquainted

with the Southern tribes, of whom he repeated this report, to smile at its utter want of foundation.

M. Listant holds the soundest views on the whole question. Obviously despairing of an early abolition, he directs all his efforts towards elevating the blacks, whether slaves or free, and he wisely insists on the new *system*, for that end, being applied on the widest basis. His concluding remark, that individual good measures may be adopted with some advantage, but that the great benefits which they would produce, if vigorously executed, as a *system*, must be neutralized by their being put in force separately, are most important.

“ Chacune des mesures que nous avons indiquées comme propres à amener l'extinction des préjugés de couleur dans les colonies, peut être, il est vrai, employée séparément ; mais le bon résultat qu'elles doivent produire, si elles sont pratiquées collectivement, sera neutralisé par leur dissémination et leur emploi partiel. Le sort matériel de l'esclave sera adouci sans doute, mais le préjugé que nous cherchons à détruire subsistera toujours. Je crois donc qu'il importera d'adopter un système complet sur cette matière, et d'en poursuivre la réalisation avec persévérance. Le gouvernement qui possède tant de moyens d'exécution, en s'occupant activement de ce sujet, pourra, mieux que personne, en amener la solution la plus complète et la plus satisfaisante ; car laisser aux seuls blancs des colonies le soin de détruire les préjugés, c'est vouloir que l'état actuel des choses y subsiste éternellement.”

This is an observation which deserves the deep attention of the friends of the slaves, the coloured people, and the aborigines among ourselves. Every day we are permitting the greatest mischief, because we are satisfied with isolated measures for the advancement of this cause ; the consequence of which is that progress in one quarter is overbalanced by grievous checks in another ; and often in the same spot, neglect of obviously useful proceedings destroys the better, but not sufficiently powerful, influence of what is exclusively the object of our care. M. Listant is right in his view of the necessity of *combined* action, and of the propriety of the government taking the lead in it. The details of his plan are too long for our space, but he does justice to his principle by preparing the way for the better guidance of **EVERY RELATION** in which the different races stand towards each other.

It does honour to France, that an independent people, sprung from one of her colonies, has produced a man capable of conceiving this plan. It will do her more honour if she shall prove herself capable of profiting by the views thus ably propounded to her, by one in whom the genius of Africa and Europe is happily blended.

Art. IX. *Elementary Geology.* By Edward Hitchcock, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, &c. Second Edition. With an Introductory Notice, by John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Amherst, Massachusetts. London: Jackson and Walford. 1841.

ON both scientific and religious accounts, we have been eminently gratified by the sight of this volume. Its author has been made known to the British public by Dr. Buckland, who, in different parts of his universally admired *Bridgewater Treatise*, has made honourable mention of Professor Hitchcock's discoveries as "of the highest interest." His services have been great, not only as a philosophical professor, but as a working man in the field of geological labour, truly hard bodily as well as mental toil;\* but before us he stands with the peculiar recommendation of being a faithful disciple of Christ, and a minister of the holy gospel, in (we believe) the Congregational Denomination.

This work possesses a character of *completeness*, in relation to extent and comprehension, which we know not where else to look for in a single book, or even any approach to it. For the

\* We refer to his *Geology of the State of Massachusetts*, of which we have seen two editions in large octavo; and lately has come to this country, the third edition, or more properly a new work incorporating the former, in two splendid quartos, with a rich store of maps, sections, landscapes, and organic remains, excellently engraved. Of this final work we hope shortly to lay a further account before our readers; but, in the mean time, we borrow from Dr. Buckland two passages which will give some idea of the author's moral principles.

"If I understand geology aright," (says Professor Hitchcock,) so far from teaching the eternity of the world, it proves *more directly* than any other science can, that its revolutions and races of inhabitants had a commencement; and that it contains within itself the chemical energies which need only to be set at liberty by the will of their Creator, to accomplish its destruction. Because this science teaches that the revolutions of nature have occupied immense periods of time, it does not, therefore, teach that they form an eternal series. It only enlarges our conceptions of the Deity; and when men shall cease to regard geology with jealousy and narrow-minded prejudices, they will find that it opens fields of research and contemplation as wide and as grand as astronomy itself."—"Why should we hesitate to admit the existence of our globe through periods as long as geological researches require, since the sacred word does not declare the time of its original creation; and since such a view of its antiquity enlarges our ideas of the operations of the Deity in respect to *duration*, as much as astronomy does in regard to *space*? Instead of bringing us into collision with Moses, it seems to me that geology furnishes us with some of the grandest conceptions of the Divine attributes and plans, to be found in the whole circle of human knowledge."—Citations in the *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. pp. 587.

different parts of the subject, the contents of many volumes would require to be studied. Of those different parts, especially such as are branches of knowledge preliminary or subsidiary, the views here given are necessarily concise, and require to be followed out by the diligent student in other ways of investigation; but the author has manifestly laboured to combine and condense the most abundant information on every topic; his arrangement and manner of expression are easy and perspicuous: he has constantly referred to the portions and pages of other books, both as authorities and for elucidation; and the work is printed very closely upon a large page. The plan may be understood by the following abstract of its contents:—

I. The Constitution and *Structure* of the Earth, and the Principles on which Rocks are classified.—Here we have a clear account, both descriptive and tabular, of different arrangements, not such as are founded on erroneous or arbitrary principles, but what have been deemed the most lucid disposition of the body of known facts.\*

II. An enumeration of the *Minerals*, separately considered, into which all the combinations of earthy materials are resolved.—This, of course, requires of the reader some acquaintance with the principles of chemistry; yet not more than forms, in our day, a necessary part of a respectable education; and Dr. Hitchcock has made every article very plain, and has illustrated by familiar examples.

III. The Lithological characters of the *Stratified* Rocks; that is, their mineral composition.—Many local facts are here mentioned. Thus hints are afforded which will be of much service to young practical inquirers; and those hints, both in this and in other parts of the volume, may lead to valuable results in agriculture, mining, selecting and working stone, &c.

IV. A correspondent body of information on the *Unstratified*, or Igneous, better called Pyrogenous, rocks, ascending from granite to the newest lava.—The artificial nomenclature of the French, for species and varieties, is detailed; conferring a great advantage upon the student. A complaint of Professor Sedgwick, made several years ago, was not without reason; that we are

\* We perceive that, both in this part and in his tabular view of the classifications of strata, the author has given the thicknesses of the systems of strata from Dr. Pye Smith's table in the second edition of his *Scripture and Geology*. We are authorized by that gentleman to say, that while he took all the pains in his power to obtain the best evidence and most probable estimations, an error had occurred in two places: the seventy thousand for the Silurian group, should have been *fifteen*; and the fifty, for the Cambrian, should have been *ten*. It grieves him much that those oversights were committed. *Incuria fudit.*

oppressed by the inundation of words "with Greek heads and Gallic tails." Instruction is here introduced upon the use of geological maps and sections.

V. PALÆONTOLOGY; the knowledge of Organic Remains, vegetable and animal.—This deeply interesting branch of geological science is treated at great length, with a particularity of description and elucidation which deserves our warmest thanks. It is the department of which the able discussion and rich illustrations have given the extraordinary attraction to Dr. Buckland's celebrated work. In the volume before us, we are furnished with the most important results of Palæozoic memoirs and descriptions, by British, French, German, and American geologists, down to its publication, in August, 1841. This information is given under the heads of general characters of organic remains; nature and process of petrification; means of ascertaining; classification; amount, or estimate of the thickness of the strata which are fossiliferous, from the most recent down to the Cambrian slates, the earliest stratum in which any vestiges of once living creatures have been detected; distribution into provinces, or appropriate limits of place on the surface of the globe. Tabular view of the number of species in each great system of strata, and a comparison with those existing in the present condition of the earth; periods of commencement and extinction, in their vertical, which must be the chronological order, with tables of the numbers of species in the systems, and an ingenious Palæontological Chart, exhibiting at one view the orders, families, and many genera of the plants and animals, known only by their preserved and mineralized remains; comparison of fossil and living species; particular descriptions of the most interesting species in every family or order, including the microzoaria and microphyta (whether infusoria or not), disclosed by the indefatigable Dr. Ehrenberg, and the zealous microscopists who are following him. This is succeeded by a comprehensive view of ichnolithology, (footsteps of animals and marks of ripple and rain-drops,) in which the Professor seems to aim at concealing his own title to distinction in this field of investigation. This large portion of the work is closed by a body of general inferences, concerning the successive periods of change in the structure of the earth's crust, the elevations and subsidences of the former ocean beds, and consequently the periods of existence for organic remains.

VI. On the operation of *Aqueous and Atmospheric Agencies* in producing geological change.—Here we have an ample account of Professor Agassiz's indefatigable and long-continued, yet recently published labours and arguments on the glaciers of Switzerland. Action of frost, rain, running water, lakes, seas,

beaches ; chemical deposits from water, mineral waters, bituminous springs ; drift, blocks, moraines, grooved rocks.

VII. Operation of *Organic Agencies* in producing geological changes :—Man ; other animals ; plants ; peat ; drift wood ; agents of consolidation.

VIII. *Igneous Agencies* :—Volcanoes and earthquakes ; slow elevation and depression ; submarine forests ; extinct volcanoes ; destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah ; the Plutonic, or older unstratified rocks ; temperature of the globe ; surface ; interior ; celestial space ; metamorphic theory ; hypotheses on the earliest condition of the globe ; metallic veins.

Upon the remaining sections we must content ourselves with more briefly indicating the subjects.

IX. Connexion between Geology and Natural and Revealed Religion.

X. The *History of Geology*.—The last paragraph of this section we will transcribe :—

“ Those whose recollection enables them to compare the state of geological science thirty years ago, with its present condition, and the almost universal interest *now* taken in it, with the almost entire absence of all interest or knowledge on the subject *then*, will hardly venture to predict what will be its condition thirty years hence.”—p. 305.

XI. *Geographical Geology*.—This is a section of peculiar originality and interest. It is, indeed, brief and necessarily incomplete ; but the author has shewn sound judgment and tact in sketching the general views, and in selecting those particular objects which are of the greatest importance for economical purposes. He passes under review all the principal countries of the globe.

The following are the “ general inferences ” which the author draws :—

“ 1. That the axes of all the principal chains of mountains on the globe, are composed of primary rocks, stratified and unstratified, while the secondary series lie upon their flanks at a still lower level, and the tertiary strata at a lower level still.

“ 2. A similar process of the elevation of continents, at successive epochs, has been going on in all parts of the world.

“ 3. There is every reason to believe that continents, once above the waters, have sunk beneath them, as those now above the waters, were gradually raised ; for, since the quantity of matter in the globe has always remained the same, its diameter cannot be enlarged permanently ; and, therefore, as one part rose, other parts must sink.

“ 4. The geology of any district, that embraces all the principal groups of rocks, affords us a type of the geology of the globe. This is

what we should expect from the uniformity and constancy of nature's operations; and facts shew that such is the case.

"5. We have no reason to expect that new discoveries, in unexplored parts of the earth, will essentially change the important principles of geology. Slight modifications of those principles are all that can reasonably be expected from future researches."—p. 336.

We must express some regret, that this valuable and most seasonable work is not brought forth with that external beauty of printing which it would have received if published in London. Yet the execution is far from being discreditable to the provincial press of New England, and we believe that Amherst is but a small town. The wood-cuts are very numerous; and, though not equally splendid with many productions of wood-engraving in our country, they are clear and accurate, and, with the exception of very few, they may be called handsome.

We shall conclude our notice by citing a few sentences from Dr. Pye Smith's Introduction:—

"In a manner unexpected and remarkable, the opportunity has been presented to me of bearing a public testimony to the value of Dr. Hitchcock's volume, ELEMENTARY GEOLOGY. This is gratifying, not only because I feel it an honour to myself, but much more as it excites the hope that, by this recommendation, theological students, many of my younger brethren in the evangelical ministry, and serious Christians in general, who feel the duty of seeking the cultivation of their own minds, may be induced to study this book. For them it is peculiarly adapted, as it presents a comprehensive digest of geological facts and the theoretical truths deduced from them, disposed in a method admirably perspicuous; so that inquiring persons may, without any discouraging labour, and by employing the diligence which will bring its own reward, acquire such a knowledge of this science as cannot fail of being eminently beneficial."—p. ix.

"The spirit of these reflections bears a peculiar application to ministers of the gospel. To the pastors of rural congregations, no means of recreating and preserving health are comparable to these and their allied pursuits; and thus, also, in many temporal respects, they may become benefactors to their neighbours. In large towns, the establishment of libraries, lyceums, botanic gardens, and scientific associations, is rapidly diffusing a taste for these kinds of knowledge. It would be a perilous state for the interests of religion, that precious jewel whose essential characters are wisdom, knowledge, and joy, if its professional teachers should be, in this respect, inferior to the young and inquiring members of their congregations. For those excellent men who give their lives to the noblest of labours, a work which would honour angels, 'preaching among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ'; a competent acquaintance with natural objects is of signal importance, for both safety and usefulness. They should be able to distinguish mineral and vegetable products, so as to guard

against the pernicious, and determine the salubrious; and very often geological knowledge will be found of the first utility in fixing upon the best localities for missionary stations; nor can they be insensible to the benefits of which they may be the agents, by communicating discoveries to Europe or the United States of America."—p. x.

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Art. X. *Letter to the Editor of the Eclectic Review.* By ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ.

IT is always with regret that we pronounce an unfavourable judgment on the works which come before us, more especially when they are the productions of men whom we respect, and the excellency of whose motives we have no disposition to impugn. This reluctance is greatly increased in the case of authors who are known to be of a somewhat sensitive temperament, and to look with more than ordinary complacency on their literary offspring. Such was our feeling in the case of Dr. Conquest's volume, noticed in our Journal for December last. As we could not speak well of it, our respect for the author would have led us to pass it by without notice, had we not deemed such a course inconsistent with the faithful discharge of our duty as journalists. Had the volume related to any department of general literature or science, or been devoted to the discussion of some branch of theology or of practical religion, we might have felt at liberty to follow the dictate of feeling by abstaining from any expression of our views. But the case was far otherwise with a work issued under the imposing title of "The Holy Bible, containing the authorized version of the Old and New Testament, with nearly 20,000 emendations." These emendations are represented as drawn from "ancient and modern versions, from original and scarce manuscripts, and from the works of more than three hundred of the most learned and pious men of the last two centuries." Such a work, proceeding from such a quarter, and heralded into public notice with more than the usual appliances of modern advertising, imperatively called for some notice at our hands. To have passed it by would have been a culpable failure in the discharge of our duty; and to have done otherwise, in noticing it, than honestly to express, with due courtesy to the Editor, our estimate of its character, would have been to betray the interests of truth, and deservedly to forfeit the confidence of the public. With such views we undertook to place on record our critical judgment, and have yet to learn—notwithstanding the letter now before us—that we have failed either in the verdict given, or in the demeanour observed towards Dr. Conquest. On an attentive reconsideration of the case, we are fully prepared to

abide by what we have done, and shall shew, before we close, that we might have said much stronger things than our regard for Dr. Conquest's feelings permitted us to pen on the former occasion.

Before proceeding to examine the exceptions taken to our criticisms by Aletheia, there are two or three matters to which we must briefly refer. A few days after the publication of our December number, we received a note from Dr. Conquest, stating that he had "great cause to complain of the *spirit* of the review in the last number of the Eclectic; but yet greater cause, *on the ground of truth* (the italics are the Doctor's), to complain of the illustrations given by the reviewer in support of his assertions," and requesting to know whether we would insert in our next number a communication from him. To this note we instantly replied, that while assured neither the spirit nor the fairness of our critique was open to objection, yet if in anything we had misrepresented him, our pages were open for any correction which he might wish to insert, stating, however, that we could not exceed these limits, and must not therefore pledge ourselves to the insertion of any particular communication, until we had an opportunity of seeing it. To this reply Dr. Conquest rejoined in the following terms:—"I am obliged by your communication of last Monday; but on further consideration, I feel I should be forgetful of what is due to myself, were I to notice such an article as appeared in the Eclectic of this month." Such was the state of matters on the appearance of the letter now before us, from which letter we gather that the Doctor had seen reason to alter his views subsequently to the transmission of the foregoing Note.

Of Aletheia we know nothing, neither are we concerned to inquire. If his letter were written at the solicitation of private friendship, it was a mean sacrifice of high-mindedness and truth at the shrine of personal regard; if penned for hire, no terms which we are accustomed to employ would accurately describe its character. Dr. Conquest has adopted the letter by printing 100,000 copies of it, and by paying for its insertion in most of the religious periodicals of the day. The responsibility of it, therefore, rests with him; he has made it his own, and we shall treat it accordingly.

In respect to the mention of Dr. Conquest's name in our former article, which is represented as a "violation of the graceful and tacit agreement in the republic of literature," we have merely to remark that there is something amusing, and not a little inconsistent, in the sensitive modesty which thus shrinks from the mention of a name, when more than ordinary pains had been taken by the Editor to notify the fact of his forthcoming

volume. Its publication was preceded by a circular, well known to proceed from Dr. Conquest, who moreover appeared solicitous to lose no opportunity which social intercourse supplied, of detailing to his friends the extent and value of his labours, the time he had devoted to the work, and the important service it was to render to the church. Moreover, in doing as we did, we only followed the example of others, in proof of which we refer to the *Congregational Magazine* for August, page 576.

Such a complaint comes with singular infelicity from a writer who is himself guilty of violating all the courtesies of literature. He well knew that the responsibility of every article inserted in our *Journal* rests with the Editor, yet he also knew—and this probably determined the course taken—that the disreputable insinuations thrown out would instantly have been laughed at had they been directed against him. It was probably thought they would obtain more credit, and be more widely circulated, if directed against a gentleman designated as “a young Baptist Minister,” than if pointed at one who is well known to possess but little of the denominational spirit unhappily too rife in the present day. To those who are acquainted with Mr. Gotch, the reckless charges of “captiousness, unfairness, and singular unacquaintance with, or concealment of, the truth,” will appear ridiculously inappropriate and spleenetic—the mere hissing of the serpent when it cannot sting. To others who have not the pleasure of that gentleman’s acquaintance, we may be permitted to say, that throughout the somewhat extensive circle of our acquaintance we know no one more richly endowed with the amenity and candour which give such grace and loveliness to scholarship, rendering it as productive of happiness to its possessor as it is subservient to the instruction and enlargement of other minds. Less than this we could not say in justice either to Mr. Gotch or to ourselves. To add more would be to wound a modesty as healthful as it is sensitive, and to shew more respect to an assailant than the bitterness of his spirit—partaking rather of personal enmity than of literary contest—merits. A far higher judge, both of scholarship and temper, and one, too, who stood to Mr. Gotch in the relation of a controversialist, has spoken of him in very different and much more appropriate terms. “To the learning, industrious research, and candour of the author,” remarks Dr. Henderson, in his review of Mr. Gotch’s pamphlet, “I most cheerfully award the highest commendation; and it is devoutly to be wished that all who treat on the subject would discuss it in the temperate, dignified, gentlemanly, and Christian-like spirit which pervades his pages.”\*

\* *Congregational Magazine*, May, 1841, p. 356.

It is always somewhat difficult to deal with general charges, which are easily made, but require in many cases, for their refutation, an extended and perhaps minute reply. Happily, however, our assailant has committed himself by one of the meanest and most pitiful insinuations ever directed against a public journalist, and one, too, which is so clearly opposed to all the facts of the case as to furnish a pretty good indication of the bad *animus* with which he wrote. It is not often that the means of defence are at once so direct and triumphant. The insinuation is, that the tone of our former article was derived from the non-substitution of the word *immersion* for *baptism*. "To some such supposition," remarks Aletheia, "we are driven, by a spirit in the writer, directly opposed to that Christian courtesy and reverence for truth, &c." How Dr. Conquest could permit these words to pass, we are at a loss to imagine. He must have known—he did know—that if there were any truth in them—the slightest particle—then we had broken faith with the public, and were utterly unworthy of the confidence we enjoyed. To neutrality—absolute, universal neutrality—on the baptismal question, Dr. Conquest knows, as well as we do, that we are pledged by reiterated declarations; and we confidently appeal to every page and sentence of the ten volumes of the New Series in proof of our having fulfilled, both in letter and spirit, our engagements. Whatever faults we have committed, unfaithfulness on this point does not rank amongst them; and we can only despise the meanness of a writer who thus seeks to avail himself of the lowest prejudices of his reader, in order to give a colouring of truth to his unworthy imputations. Nor will it avail him to allege that his remarks were directed against Mr. Gotch, and not against the Review. Whoever may have been the writer of the article in question, the responsibility of it is ours; and we must either have been treacherous or ignorant—disqualified in heart or intellect for our post—to have admitted a paper prepared under such a dishonest bias. But how stands the matter? The insinuation is equally pointless, both in relation to Mr. Gotch and to ourselves.

And first, in relation to Mr. Gotch. So far from being likely to condemn Dr. Conquest's labours on the ground alleged, it is well known that he is opposed—directly and unequivocally opposed—to the translation of the Greek terms relating to baptism, and has placed on record his protest against such translation. "These remarks, it will be perceived," observes Mr. Gotch, in the pamphlet reviewed by Dr. Henderson, "invalidate an argument frequently put forward by baptists for an alteration of the version of the New Testament, in respect to the word *βαπτιζω*, on the ground that *baptize* is not an English word, but

merely a transferred Greek term. It is as much an English word as *Christian* or *deacon* is. All are derived from the Greek; all are intelligible in English. It is strange that those who *call themselves Baptists* should use such an argument. Whether "baptize," according to its modern use, is a *correct* translation of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , is another question, with which, as I have repeatedly said, I have now no concern."\*

This fact either was or was not known to Aletheia. He may take which alternative he pleases; but whichever be his choice we leave him to determine how he escapes the charge of "intentional misrepresentation," or of "culpable ignorance."

And then, in relation to ourselves, against whom the unworthy insinuation is ultimately directed. One and only one *immersionist* version has been presented to the British public during our Editorship. We refer to Alexander Campbell's New Testament, which was reviewed in our Journal for June last. The general tenour of our critique may be learned from the closing paragraph, which we subjoin, in our own vindication, and as equally applicable, with a single exception, to the English as to the American editor :

"With all respect for the powerful talents of Mr. Campbell, we cannot part with him without serious reprehension; and the more because of the loud vaunted (many of which are wisely excluded from the English edition) by which he has aggravated his fault. He has set an example of a mode of treating the sacred oracles altogether wanting, we think, in the reverence, caution, and simple-mindedness which every translator of them should cultivate; and it is needful that we should make our view of his error distinctly understood in order that we may contribute our humble share towards preventing its repetition."†

Had we been capable of the treachery imputed to us, we should have spoken in different terms of Mr. Campbell's labours; but what are we to think of a writer who, in the face of such facts, can recklessly throw out the pitiful insinuation which has led to these remarks? It would be easy to employ strong terms,—to talk of "bitterness of tone and spirit," and to assure the unlearned that they "should seek some credible evidence before they assign any value to the sweeping denunciations" of Aletheia; but we prefer to leave the matter to the impartial judgment of our readers. Surely Dr. Conquest will be ready to say, with the Spanish proverb, "Save me from my friends, and I will take care of my foes."

The reviewer is charged with choosing "to set at defiance or

\* Critical Examination, &c., p. 47.

† June, p. 693.

to count as nothing such venerated authorities as Bishop Middleton, Professor Scholefield, Macknight, Kennicott, Pye Smith, Doddridge, and others of equal weight ;" and six passages are adduced, the remarks on which, it is alleged, "will enable the public to judge whether his (the Reviewer's) sweeping and unsupported assertions are attributable to intentional misrepresentation or only to culpable ignorance."

We will now proceed to an examination of these remarks, from which our readers will see where the truth lies.

I. Job, i. 5. "It may be that my sons have sinned, and have not blessed God in their hearts." *Amended translation.* The reviewer has stated that "not blessed" is "without authority ;" "and he does this," says Aletheia, "in the face of Mason Good, Broughton, and Kennicott."

Mason Good's translation (which is, "nor blessed God in their hearts") proceeds on the principle that בְּרַךְ means only *bless*, and never has the meaning *curse*, which our translators have given it not only in this passage, but Job, i. 11; ii. 5, 9; or *blaspheme*, as it is rendered, 1 Kings, xxi. 10, 13. In these two latter instances, Dr. Conquest has left the word "blaspheme" unaltered, "and this he does in the face of Mason Good." To obtain an intelligible sense in the passage under consideration, Mason Good is obliged to lay down a principle which is utterly untenable —viz., that the Hebrew נִ is a negative as well as an affirmative conjunction ; in proof of which he produces no example whatever from the Hebrew, but mentions one or two familiar *English* phrases, two passages from *English* poets, and one from Horace, none of which are to the purpose. Broughton does not translate the passage as Dr. Conquest has done, but as follows : "and little-blessed God in their hearts ;" thus giving an altered signification to the verb בְּרַךְ, which Dr. Conquest's other authority declares is not only forced but "unnecessary, unallowable, and monstrous." Kennicott's name is referred to, and the unwary reader may suppose that some authority for the insertion of the negative is derived from his critical text. This, however, is not the case ; nor have we been able to find in his miscellaneous writings any remarks on the passage. Let his name, then, give all the weight to the alteration which he is entitled to, not as a critic but an expositor. What was meant by the reviewer clearly was, that there is "no authority" *from the text* for the insertion of the negative ; and this is again distinctly asserted.

II. Job, v. 7. The only authority to which we are referred for this alteration is Dr. Roberts. His arguments are that the sense requires it, and that the Hebrew language admits of the extension of the signification of the negative to a succeeding sentence. The author of the letter reverses the arguments, and adds a

third. We have no hesitation in declaring again that the alteration is groundless. Let us examine each of the arguments on which it is founded.

1. The extended influence of the negative. This is thus stated by Dr. Conquest's champion:—"Owing to the idiomatic brevity of the Hebrew language, a negative is *seldom or never repeated* in the members of *an argument* or sentence, but its influence extends throughout the whole." We will venture to say that no one accurately acquainted with the Hebrew language, and capable of forming a judgment on such a matter, could (unless by oversight) lay down such a canon of criticism as this. The fact is, that the omission of the second negative is the exception, not the rule; and the influence of the first does *not* extend indefinitely to the subsequent members of an argument, but only to a closely allied clause, more especially to the latter of two hemistichs in poetical parallelisms. In such cases the negative at the commencement of the first modifies the second clause, which is either added without any particle of connexion, or is connected by the simple copula. There is no example which we have seen adduced, or have been able to discover, of the influence of a negative extending beyond these limits. The reader may refer to Gesenius *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 832, and to Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*, by Nicholson, p. 379. Now in the case before us, the two sentences, in verses 6 and 7, are so far independent of each other, as that each of them is connected with the foregoing part of the argument by the particle 'ו', which may in both cases be properly rendered "for," as is done by Dr. Conquest. We believe no instance can be found of the force of a negative being carried on in such circumstances.

2. The second argument is the authority of "the most learned living Jews" In order that this should have any weight, we should be informed who they are. But at the best, their authority is of little account when opposed to the almost unanimous testimony of both ancient and modern translators, critics, and expositors.

3. The third argument is the bearing of the context and the consistency of the argument. This is, indeed, Dr. Roberts's prime argument, and it only needs to be remarked, that to place it first, as he does, and seek a sense because the context will not admit the literal interpretation, is uncritical and dangerous; to adduce it last renders it of no account, unless the first point be proved, which we assert has not been done.

III. Jonah, iv. 4. The change, we are told, rests on the authority of Symmachus, the Septuagint, and the Syriac; "as a little research," it is said, "would have taught Mr. Gotch." It was truly *a little* research that was needed to know how the pas-

sage is given in all these three translations, for they are all referred to and distinctly quoted by Rosenmüller; but let the critical reader refer to his *Scholia*, and he will see that *not one of the three* gives the sense which Dr. Conquest has adopted. It is true that they all render the verb “grieve” instead of “be angry;” and had this been the only alteration in the amended version, there would have been nothing to object to. But every reader will perceive that the principal “emendation” of the passage is the change in the intention of the question, its being made to refer not to the propriety but the profit of being angry or grieved, which ever word be adopted. Dr. Conquest’s version is, “Will grieving *do thee any good?*” Symmachus translates it, ἄρα δικιώς ἐλυπηθεὶς; art thou *justly* grieved? LXX, εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σύ; art thou *greatly* grieved? the Syriac, according to Rosenmüller’s Latin version, “valde tibi displicet?” does it *greatly* displease thee?\* We have ascertained that Benjoin did not furnish the alteration, as the reviewer conjectured, and we are therefore left without any “authority” whatever. We repeat that it is a worthless alteration, whencesoever it has been derived.

IV. Luke, vii. 47. The expression of the reviewer, "there is not the least shadow of authority," applies, as the writer *must have known*, not to "*the change*" in this passage, but simply to one part of it, and that not the most important—viz., the insertion of the word "because." The mention of the names A. Clarke, Campbell, Doddridge, and Schleusner, is only calculated (if not intended) to give the reader a false impression, for they do *not* insert the word "because;" and the three last are expressly referred to by the reviewer himself, though he does not agree with their criticisms. Granville Penn, then, is the "authority" upon which this word "because" is inserted. Now if any reader will turn to his Annotations, he will see that Dr. Conquest has misunderstood his author, and has in this case, as in some others noticed by the reviewer, been led into a double translation. Mr. Penn connects the phrase  $\omega\breve{v}\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota\nu$ , not with the words which immediately succeed it, but with the following declaration, and translates "I tell thee *because* ( $\omega\breve{v}\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota\nu$ ) her sins, which are many, are forgiven her, that she hath loved much." But Dr. Conquest has already employed this phrase, in conformity with most translators, at the beginning of the sentence, "*Wherefore* ( $\omega\breve{v}\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota\nu$ ) I say unto thee;" not perceiving this, he introduces a second translation of it, taken from Granville Penn. For the insertion of the word "because" in conjunction with

\* The Syriac word **ܒ**, which Rosenmüller renders "valde," may, however, as properly be rendered "bene." It has this meaning in the New Testament, Heb. xii. 28; 2 Pet. i. 12.

"wherefore" at the commencement, there is, we repeat, "not the least shadow of authority."

V. John, viii. 44. The emendation is supplied by Bishop Middleton, and confirmed by his editor, Professor Scholefield. We apprehend that there is no other authority whatever. Bishop Middleton's principal ground of objection to the ordinary rendering, is the occurrence of the article before  $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\pi$  which he thinks obliges us to take the word as the subject, not as the predicate, of the proposition. In answer to this objection, the critical reader is referred to Winer's *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, p. 106; and to Professor Stuart's *Remarks on the Greek Article* in the *Biblical Repository*, No. xiv. p. 304. Both, writing on the subject of the Greek Article after Bishop Middleton, expressly refer to this passage as an instance of the use of the article in the predicate of a proposition, and translate the clause as our received version does. In this view we fully accord; but even were it otherwise, the alteration is one which Dr. Conquest, according to his own principles, ought not to have made; for he states, in his preface, that "in every instance where men of research and talent have differed, and where there has appeared no preponderance of evidence on either side, it has been considered most prudent to allow the passage to remain as in the authorized version." Now his own authority, Middleton, would have informed him that the common version is "the interpretation of *Campbell, Newcome, Mill, Beausobre, Erasmus Schmidt, Casaubon, Heinsius, Suicer, Whitby, Wolfius, Rosenmüller, Schleusner*, and indeed of most modern critics," and it would be easy to double the list. It is rather too much to claim for Bishop Middleton, and his editor, Professor Scholefield, so high a place in the ranks of critics, as that their sole authority should be equivalent to that of all others whatever. Such a list of disregarded authorities serves to shew how easy it would be to retort upon Dr. Conquest himself the charge the letter-writer brings against the reviewer, and to talk of "sweeping and unsupported" changes, and of his having "chosen to set at defiance or to count as nothing such venerated authorities as, &c., &c.;" and the list would include, we imagine, nearly or quite all the Doctor's three hundred and odd names.

VI. "Such men as Drs. John Edwards, Pye Smith, Doddrige, Boothroyd, and Macknight, must answer Mr. Gotch's strictures on the alteration of Col. i. 15."

Let us hear the answer they give; but first let it be borne in mind, that the reviewer was speaking not of an exposition but a translation of the passage; and without making any objection to the explanation which the amended version gives, he asks whether it be right so to *translate* it. Now will the reader believe

that all the authorities referred to for an answer, except Dr. John Edwards, who gives no translation, and speaks as an expositor simply, agree with the reviewer, so far at least as that they actually do not in their *translations* render the term *πρωτότοκος*, Lord, as Dr. Conquest has done. Pye Smith, Doddridge, and Macknight, all translate it, "The *first-born* of the whole creation." Boothroyd gives "begotten before any creature." It is true that Drs. John Edwards and Pye Smith speak decidedly in favour of a meaning similar to that which Dr. Conquest's version gives; and the latter, after having twice translated the passage in the manner we have stated, says, at the close of his remarks, "I conceive, therefore, that the proper translation would be, 'CHIEF of all the creation;'" but it is quite clear that he does not mean that this is such a translation as should be admitted into the ordinary text, from the fact of his translating otherwise himself. Macknight remarks, that "the word in this passage may signify the *heir* or *Lord* of the whole creation." Boothroyd doubts the propriety of this meaning, and understands the word to express "his eternal existence." But surely Doddridge's name must have been put down at a venture. It is worth while to hear his answer, for it is very distinct:—"It is certain that Christ is often called God's *first-born*, his *first-begotten*, and his *only-begotten Son*, and therefore *I did not think it warrantable to change our translation of that word*." The reader may decide as he pleases, whether the censor's assertion is (to use his own language) "attributable to intentional misrepresentation, or only to culpable ignorance."

We will now proceed to adduce a few more instances of mis-translation, which we must do within as brief limits as possible. We shall adopt the same means of distinguishing the emendations as on the former occasion—viz., including them in brackets.

Deut. xxxii. 5. *Authorized Version*: They have corrupted themselves, their spot is not *the spot* of his children.

*Emendation*: [His children] have corrupted themselves [by their pollution:]

[That they are not his children, that is their blot.]

The last line is our marginal reading. The passage is somewhat obscure, but it is very clear that the words of the first line in brackets have no authority from the text if the second be adopted. The insertion of the words "his children," in the first hemistich, causes an apparent contradiction between that and the second. The phrase "by their pollution," is a translation of the last word בְּגַם, "their blot;" but Dr. Conquest, not being aware of this, has repeated it in the second hemistich, thus furnishing another instance of double translation.

Deut. xxxii. 15. *Authorized Version* : But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.

*Emendation* : [But Jacob ate, and was satiated.]

Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.

The first line is an addition from the LXX, and has no authority whatever from the Hebrew text.

Job, xxiv. 11. *Authorized Version* : Which make oil within their walls.

*Emendation* : Who make oil within their walls [at noon day].

Another instance of double translation, arising from the word translated "make oil," being, by some, rendered "rest themselves at noon." The two are incompatible.

Psalm, xlvi. 9. *Authorized Version* : For the shields of the earth belong unto God : he is greatly exalted.

*Emendation* : Who is greatly exalted, and doth defend the earth as it were with a shield.

Our version is literal ; no comment is needed to shew that a translator could never obtain Dr. Conquest's rendering from the original.

Psalm lxxxvi. 2. *Authorized Version* : Preserve my soul; for I am holy.

*Emendation* : Preserve my soul; for I am [afflicted and destitute].

This alteration, like many formerly noticed, must have proceeded on doctrinal grounds. Our translation is literal ; and, at all events, there is only one word in the original to answer to the two employed by Dr. Conquest. On the same principle the word "saint" should be altered, whenever it is applied to men.

Habakkuk, i. 5. *Authorized Version* : Behold ye among the heathen, and regard and wonder marvellously.

*Emendation* : Behold ye [despisers among the nations], and regard, and wonder exceedingly.

Another instance of double translation. The LXX, with whom the Syriac and Arabic translators agree, and who are followed by the apostle Paul, Acts, xiii. 14, plainly did not read בְּגִיאִים "among the nations," or heathen, as most Hebrew MSS. do ; but some word signifying καταφρονταί, "despisers," probably either בְּגִיאִים or בְּגִינִים as suggested by many critics. But Dr. Conquest does not see that adopting (with propriety, as we conceive) their reading, he has in the original no word to express the reading of our English version "among the nations." One or other must be chosen ; both cannot be right.

Matt. iii. 3. *Authorized Version* : Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

*Emendation* : Prepare ye the way of the LORD, [make straight in the desert a highway for our God.]

An alteration made without any warrant, in order that the quotation may accord, verbally, with the predictions of Isaiah. The three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, quote the passage nearly verbatim from the LXX. If they thought right to do so, on what ground does a translator refuse to give the words as they wrote them? And if the alteration were needed in this instance, it was equally in the other two, Mark, i. 3, Luke, iii. 4; but in these the passage is allowed to stand.

Matt. iv. 15. *Authorized Version* : The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, *by* the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.

*Emendation* : The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali ; [on the Jordan near the sea in] Galilee of the Gentiles.

The transposition of the terms "sea" and "Jordan," and the alteration of the prepositions with which they connected, are equally unwarranted. In this instance the change makes the quotation dissimilar from the passage in the prophecy, which, as regards these clauses, has been left by Dr. Conquest as in our version.

Acts, viii. 33. *Authorized Version* : In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.

*Emendation* : He was taken away from affliction and from judgment.

Our translation is literal : the alteration (for it cannot be called translation) is taken from Isaiah, without authority from Luke.

Acts, xvi. 10. *Authorized Version* : Immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia.

*Emendation* : Immediately we endeavoured to go [to Philippi, a city of] Macedonia.

An addition altogether unwarranted.

Acts, xvii. 5. *Authorized Version* : And sought to bring them out to the people.

*Emendation* : And sought to bring them out [Paul and Silas] to the people.

Another unwarranted supplement, which besides is scarcely intelligible, owing to the singular place of its insertion.

Acts, xvii. 11. *Authorized Version* : These were more noble than those in Thessalonica.

*Emendation* : Now these [Bereans] were more noble [minded] than those in Thessalonica.

The word "Bereans," is unwarranted, useless, and makes nonsense of the passage.

1 Cor. viii. 1. *Authorized Version*: Now as touching things offered to idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.

*Emendation*: Now as touching things offered to idols, (we know that we all have [this] knowledge ; [yet let us not be vain, for] knowledge puffeth up, but [love] edifieth, &c.)

The clause, "let us not be vain," contains a very useful piece of advice, but it is not in the original.

Gal. ii. 19. *Authorized Version*: I through the law am dead to the law.

*Emendation*: I through [renouncing] the law [have died] to the law.

This alteration is made on the authority of Granville Penn, and depends on a new division of the words, reading δι' ανομού for δια νομού. Such an alteration of the text has no authority from MSS. or versions ; and, if it were allowed, the translation which is given of it would be extremely forced. But a translator is not to make a text of his own.

Gal. iii. 24. *Authorized Version*: The law was our schoolmaster *to bring us unto Christ*.

*Emendation*: The law was our schoolmaster [until Christ came].

Few who consider the meaning of the phrase παιδαγωγός εἰς Χριστόν, will think this an improvement.

Eph. iv. 8 and 11. *Authorized Version*: When he ascended upon high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. And he gave some, apostles ; and some, prophets ; and some, evangelists ; and some, pastors and teachers.

*Emendation*: When he ascended up on high, he led [the captives] captive, and [received gifts for men]. And he gave some [to] apostles ; and some [to] prophets ; and some [to] evangelists ; and some [to] pastors and teachers.

We make no objection to the use of the word "captives," though "captivity" is the literal rendering. The other alterations from our version, which is literal, are so utterly at variance with the Greek, that it would seem like an insult to the understanding of those of our readers who know anything of the Greek language, to make any observations in order to shew their impropriety as a translation.

Col. i. 8. *Authorized Version*: Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit.

*Emendation*: Who also declared unto us your love [in the bonds of that one Spirit, who unites all our hearts].

Our translation is literal ; the most unlearned reader may see that Dr. Conquest's emendation is no translation at all.

1 Tim. vi. 14, 15. *Authorized Version*: The appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times he shall shew, *who is* the blessed and only Potentate.

*Emendation*: The appearing of our LORD Jesus Christ: [who] in his own time will shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate.

Such a mistake as this, referring the first relative to Christ, could only have arisen from ignorance, or from singular inattention to the original; and, besides, what is the meaning of the amended version?

Heb. i. 6. *Authorized Version*: And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

*Emendation*: And when he [bringeth again] the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, [Worship him, all ye his angels].

It is to the last change that we especially refer. Our version is literal; the amendment (which cannot be called a translation) is intended to make this quotation agree with Dr. Conquest's version of Psalm xcvi. 7.

Heb. x. 7. *Authorized Version*: Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.

*Emendation*: Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God! [yea, thy law is within my heart.]

The last clause is added from Psalm xl., without the slightest warrant from the text of the New Testament.

These examples might be greatly multiplied, but our limits are already exceeded, and we have said enough to vindicate ourselves from unworthy imputations, as well as to establish the soundness of our former decision. We have been anxious to select, on this occasion, those which are least liable to exception, and of which the faults are most readily presented to the view, even of the English reader. That many of the alterations made by Dr. Conquest are improvements upon the authorized translation we have no disposition to deny. This was stated in our critique, and is now repeated in no reluctant spirit. It would have been marvellous had the fact been otherwise. On the ordinary doctrine of probabilities, it could not but happen that, however incompetent the selector, or erroneous the grounds of his selection, some of the alterations made would be improvements. The result therefore obtained is nothing more than such probability, aided by the common sense and extensive reading of an English gentleman, would have led us to anticipate. Giving to Dr.

Conquest the full benefit of this admission, we must yet express the conviction—a conviction which grows upon us the more attentively we reflect on the subject—that the integrity of the inspired word is too important and sacred to be subjected to the operation of such causes. Had he confined himself to the publication of a body of notes; had his volume consisted of proposed emendations, printed as supplementary to, or distinct from, the text; our estimate of his labours would have been vastly different from what it now is, when such emendations—selected without rule, and in absolute ignorance of the language in which the greater part of the Scriptures is written—are substituted for the text, and presented to the English reader as a more accurate rendering of the inspired original than that with which he is familiar. Dr. Conquest, we believe, is utterly unacquainted with the Hebrew language, whilst his measure of Greek lore is obviously very limited and superficial. That he should undertake, with such meagre qualifications, a task so onerous and fearfully responsible, is amongst the marvels of the day. What would be thought of a similar effort in the case of Homer, Herodotus, or any other Greek poet or historian. Should a gentleman, as ignorant of Greek as Dr. Conquest is of Hebrew, have made an analogous attempt, would he not have met with an indignant rebuke from the learned of all countries? What is there then, we ask, in the inspired volume, to render reproof less merited in the present case than in the one we have supposed? We confess we see no other difference than what aggravates the offence, and calls for severer rebuke. Let men interpret the inspired volume as they see fit, but let not that volume itself be tampered with, under the plea of excellent motives and unquestioned piety.

One word more, and we have done. We have heard much of the injury to befall our Journal by a free and honest expression of our views in such cases as the present. If these suggestions are intended as a threatening, we despise them; if as a friendly warning, they are not of an order to command our respect, or to be admitted to influence our conduct. Truth, not patronage, is our motto; and no longer will we continue to cater for the public than we can give free utterance to our honest convictions. We have, however, yet to learn, that the men for whom we write are so recreant to their principles, and so ignorant of their true interests, as to join in the outcry which some kind-hearted but misjudging friends of Dr. Conquest have raised.

## Brief Notices.

*Hints to Students of Divinity: an Address at the opening of the Annual Session of the Theological Seminary of the United Secession Church, Aug. 1841.* By John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in that Seminary.

The interest which we take in the momentous subject of ministerial education, makes us turn with eagerness to any publication respecting it. The reputation and previous writings of the respected author of these "Hints" assured us that he would say nothing but what must be highly valuable to students of divinity. We have not been disappointed. This little work was published at the request of the students to whom it was delivered; and though, to secure a full discussion of the subject, many topics would require to be handled which are here omitted, and some which are briefly touched would require to be treated at much greater length, these "Hints" cannot but be read with profit by every candidate for the Christian ministry. In them Dr. Brown treats first of the "Qualifications for the Seminary," in which he makes a judicious demand—would that it had been always made by all theological institutions—of some vigour of mind, some considerable discipline, and respectable attainments, as preparatory to the study of theology with a view to the Christian ministry. He then treats of the "studies" to be prosecuted "in the seminary," (which constitute, it must be confessed, a very respectable course,) and concludes by some "practical counsels." We hope his little work may be diligently read by theological students generally, but especially by the young ministers of the "United Secession Church," for whose immediate benefit it was prepared.

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*Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels.* By Albert Barnes, Minister of the Gospel, Philadelphia. In two volumes. Vol. I. Matthew, Mark. Blackie and Son, Glasgow. 12mo. pp. 404.

*Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Acts of the Apostles.* By Albert Barnes. (Reprinted from the tenth American Edition, 1841,) forming the Thirty-sixth Number of Ward's Library of Standard Divinity. Royal 8vo. pp. 289.

These are exceedingly neat and even elegant reprints of different writings of one of the most popular, perhaps the most popular, commentator America has hitherto produced. His reputation has not been inconsiderable in this country, and it certainly has not been undeserved. These "Notes," it is true, are not often profound or original; they could not be the former, for they were designed to be popular; they could not often be the latter, for they are professedly, in great part, a compilation, and not much that is absolutely new can be wrought out of

this mine. Still the selection of matter is judiciously made and the expression is both simple and clear; in a word, the "Notes" are what notes of this kind often are not, really "explanatory," and "practical." We are almost sorry that two editions of different portions of the "Notes" should have been published in such different forms. At present, however, it seems that Messrs. Blackie and Son have not published the "Acts," nor Messrs. Ward and Co. the "Gospels;" and we should recommend neither to infringe upon the other. Considering the number of works which invite the enterprise of the publisher, or rather of the *re*-publisher, we always think it a pity, when two cheap editions of the same work are put forth at the same time. Still if they deem it right to give an uniform edition of the "Notes," each in the form adopted in the publications now under notice, we have little doubt that a remunerative circulation might be obtained. But of this matter publishers must themselves be the judge; only we are very sorry that, for want of concert, or in the blind spirit of competition, they should so often mutually suffer and inflict injuries. In the mean time we thank the enterprising publishers for their valuable and well-printed works.

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*Reconciliation between the Middle and Labouring Classes.* 8vo.  
pp. 32. Birmingham; B. Hudson.

This pamphlet consists of several articles reprinted in a cheap form from the pages of the *Nonconformist*. We read them with much pleasure on their first appearance, and lose no time in strongly recommending them to the attentive and impartial examination of our friends. Without committing ourselves to all the views which they embody, we feel no hesitation in avowing our conviction of the soundness of their main principles, and our admiration of the talent and moral courage with which those principles are advocated. As we purpose shortly entering at large on the subject which these papers moot, we shall do no more at present than urge upon our readers the extensive circulation of the pamphlet amongst their neighbours. To expect to make head against a Tory government with divided forces is chimerical, and to look for the co-operation of the industrious classes without an equitable regard to their claims, is to insure to ourselves disappointment and ruin. United, we are omnipotent for all good ends; divided, we shall be the scorn of our opponents, and the betrayers of a sacred trust.

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*The Works of William Jay*, Collected and Revised by Himself.  
Vol. I. *Morning and Evening Exercises, January to March.*  
Bath: C. A. Bartlett. London: Longman.

A uniform edition of the works of Mr. Jay will find a hearty welcome from a large class of readers. Their extensive circulation and great popularity naturally suggest the advisableness of such an issue, and we are glad to learn that the venerable author has undertaken to

supply such prefatory matter and notes as will considerably augment both the interest and value of the publications. "With regard to the extent of these enlargements," Mr. Jay informs us, "he cannot at present absolutely determine; nor indeed can he as yet positively ascertain even the number of volumes of which the whole will consist." A similar edition was published at Baltimore in 1832, which, however, is now necessarily incomplete, and must of course yield the palm to the present. A volume is to be published quarterly, at a price which will bring the whole within the reach of a larger class than have hitherto been able to possess themselves of them. The short advertisement prefixed to the present volume is thoroughly characteristic of the author. Referring to the fixedness of his views, he remarks, in a style familiar to all who know him, "This may be ascribed to prejudice, or to obstinacy of belief, or to the absence of metaphysical acumen, by which, as Bacon observes, a man, like an owl, can see in the dark, or the want of patience and ability to open the seals and blow the trumpets; but whatever may be the supposed cause, he is not ashamed to acknowledge that 'having tasted the new wine,' he says, 'the old is better;' or, to change the metaphor, to 'walk in the good old paths,' and to 'go forth by the footsteps of the flock, and find his kids beside the shepherds' tents.'"

The present volume includes the morning and evening exercises—which were formerly printed separately—for January, February, and March. It contains two title pages, one to range with the other volumes of the series, and the other, in the event of its being purchased separately from its companions.

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*The Biblical Cabinet; or, Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library.* Vol. xxxiii. Containing "The Life of Christians during the first Three Centuries of the Church;" a series of Sermons on Church History. By Dr. Chr. Ludw. Couard. Translated from the German, by J. Leopold Bernays. Edinburgh: T. Clark. 1841. pp. 285.

Highly proper it is that Christian congregations should be better informed than they are on the subject of ecclesiastical history; and we therefore wholly commend the plan of Dr. Couard to the attention of pastors in our own country, but whether it would be desirable to publish such series of sermons, necessarily superficial as they must be, compared with professed works on the same subject; or whether, if they were published at all, it would not be desirable to give them an entirely new form, to omit many parts, and to expand many others, are very different questions. For our own parts, we acknowledge that, considering the number of admirable works on theology and church history, still locked up in the German language, we could have spared the Sermons of Dr. Couard, which, however admirably adapted to the original purpose, do not seem to us, either for the value of historical matter, or impressiveness of style, altogether worthy of publication. The translator, indeed, says, "In giving to the English

public the following discourses on the history of the primitive church, I have been actuated neither by the eloquence of the language nor the novelty of the views contained in them, but simply by the lively and practical piety which they display, and the necessity which seems to have arisen in these days for exhortations of the kind." Of the piety of the author there can be no doubt—of the excellence of the exhortation there can be as little. The views propounded, too, generally seem scriptural, and dictated by a very different spirit from that which has led to our new Oxford Popery. Still we must say, that, considering how many excellent works await translation, we think something more full and profound on the subject might reasonably be expected. Dr. Couard's practice of preaching a series of sermons on this subject, for the benefit of his people, we highly praise, and hold forth to imitation; his publishing such sermons—just as sermons—necessarily meagre as regards historical matter, and oftentimes tedious with common-place—which, however excellent, addressed to one's own congregation by the living voice of the pastor, is but dreary reading in type—we praise not. It is but justice to add, however, that we much doubt whether Dr. Couard has been adequately represented by his translator. The style, we must say, appears to us often rugged and uncouth.

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*A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art; comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge, with the Derivation and Definition of all the Terms in General Use.* Illustrated by engravings on wood. Edited by W. T. Brande, F.R.S., &c. Part IX.

The idea of this work, which forms the twelfth of Messrs. Longman and Co.'s series of ponderous "Encyclopaedias and Dictionaries," is most excellent. The able editor is assisted in his labours by a band of gentlemen, of first-rate talent and extensive attainments in their respective departments, and promises to realize the fair ideal of a dictionary of general reference in a moderate compass. The work is to be finished in twelve parts, of which nine have been already published. At its completion, we shall enter more at length, both into the design of the work and the merits of the execution.

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## Literary Intelligence.

*Nearly ready.*

Barnabas; a Manual for "those that are cast down." By Thomas Mann, Author of *The Gift of Prayer*.

The Great Commission. By the Rev. Dr. Harris, Author of *Mammon*, &c., the Prize Essay. Royal 12mo.

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Mr. Ryland is preparing a translation of a work lately published at Breslau, in 2 vols. octavo, by the Rev. Charles Semisch, *On the Life and Writings of Justin Martyr*; containing much interesting matter relative to the early Christian church.

*Just Published.*

Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other Parts of Europe, during the present Century. By Samuel Laing, Esq.

The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, or, a Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, that Holy Scripture is the Sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice. By W. Goode, M.A. 2 vols., octavo.

Essays in Reference to Socinianism. By Joseph Cottle. In 2 parts.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL.D., with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his Son, R. L. Carpenter.

The Harmony of Protestant Confessions, exhibiting the Faith of the Churches of Christ reformed after the pure and holy doctrine of the Gospel throughout Europe. A new edition, by Rev. Peter Hall, M.A.

The English Language. By R. G. Latham, A.M., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London.

The Christian Diary, with Moral and Religious Reflections for Every Day in the Year. 12mo.

Congregationalism, or the Polity of Independent Churches viewed in relation to the State and Tendencies of Modern Society. By Robert Vaughan, D.D.

The Martyr of Erromanga, or the Philosophy of Missions; illustrated from the Life, Death, and Character of the late Rev. John Williams. By John Campbell, D.D.

An Essay on the Supremacy and Glory of Messiah. By J. J. Poulter.

Complete in Christ. By the Author of *Visit to my Birth-place, &c.*

The Messiah as an Example. By the Author of *Think on these Things.*

Reasons for not Uniting with a Class of Religionists known by the name of "The Brethren," deduced from their own publications. By a Member of one of the "sects."

British Rejoicings moderated by British Distress; a Lecture. By Andrew Reed, B.A.

The Birth-day; a Sermon occasioned by the Birth of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. By Joseph Fletcher, D.D.

Juvenile Melodies, composed by John Lander.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere.—Poems, Part 3.

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Part 1, Lancaster: Southern Division, Part 1, Cornwall.

The Book of the Poets. Chaucer to Beattie.

The Book of the Poets. The Modern Poets of the Nineteenth Century.

Hints from a Schoolmistress to Mothers, Daughters, and Governesses, on the Practical Application of the Principles of Education.

First Series of Lectures on Prophecy. By J. W. Brooks, M.A., Edinburgh.

Two New Arguments in Vindication of the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Revelation of St. John.

Le Keux' Memorials of Cambridge, No. 22.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Uniform with American Scenery, Switzerland, &c. Part 20.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated, &c. Part 11.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Part X.

The Classical Pronunciation of Proper Names. By Thomas Swinburne Carr.